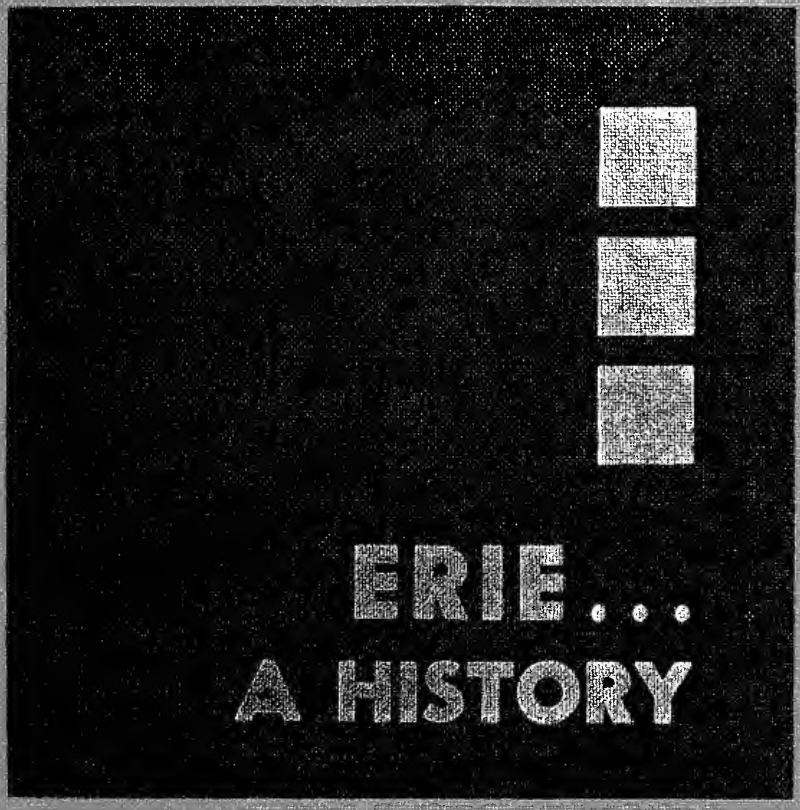
ERIE...
A HISTORY

ERIE . . .
A HISTORY

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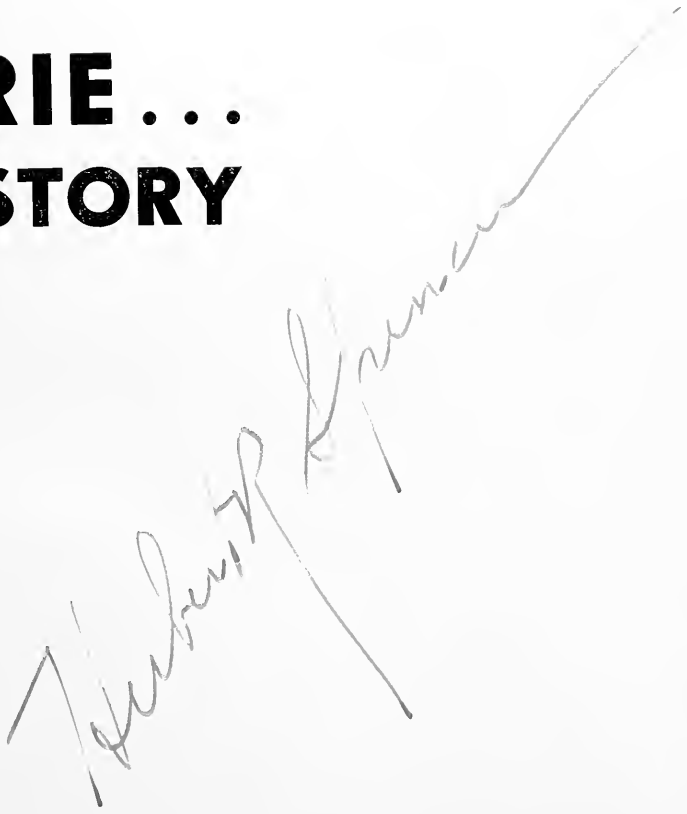

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This volume is affectionately dedicated to the

O. L.

whose many hours of unrequited toil

correcting the grammar and orthography

are much appreciated by

The Readers

ILLUSTRATIONS

CONTENTS

TRACING COPY OF A MAP

of the Counties of

ERIE AND CRAWFORD

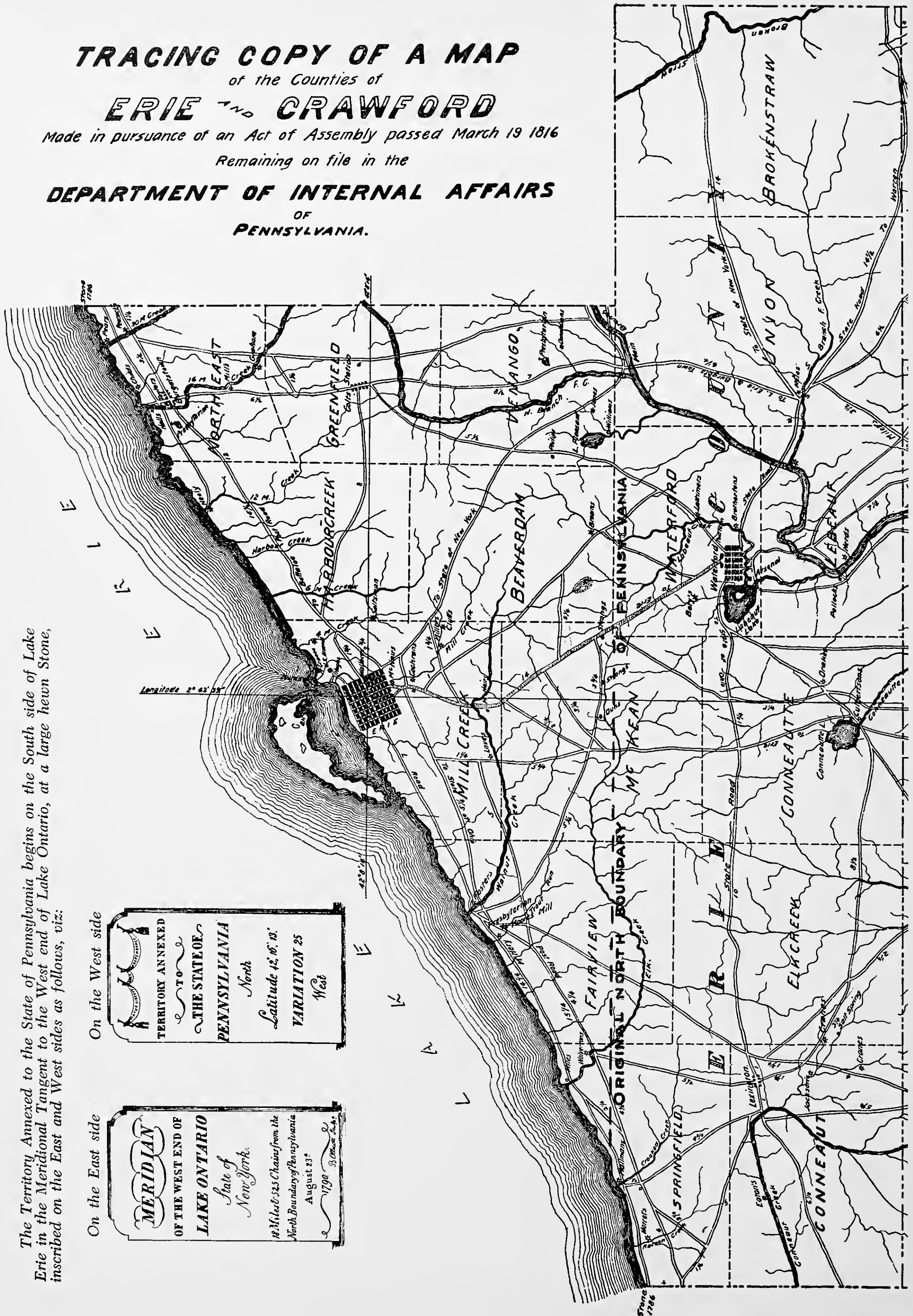
Made in pursuance of an Act of Assembly passed March 19 1816

Remaining on file in the

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.



NORTH EAST
GREENFIELD
VENANGO
HARBOURCREEK
BEAVERDAM
PENNSYLVANIA
WATERFORD
UNION
BROKENSTRAW
LEBEAUF
MILLCREEK
McKEAN
ORIGINAL NORTH BOUNDARY OF PENNSYLVANIA
CONNEAUTTE
FAIRVIEW
ELKCREEK
SPRINGFIELD
CONNEAUT
ERIE
Longitude 2° 62' 55"
Stone 1786
On the West side
TERRITORY ANNEXED TO THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA
North Latitude 42° 16' 13"
VARIATION 25 West
On the East side
MERIDIAN OF THE WEST END OF LAKE ONTARIO
State of New York.
18 Miles 8.525 Chains from the North Boundary of Pennsylvania
August 23d 1790

The Territory Annexed to the State of Pennsylvania begins on the South side of Lake Erie in the Meridional Tangent to the West end of Lake Ontario, at a large hewn Stone, inscribed on the East and West sides as follows, viz:

PREFACE

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■ ■ ■ So much has been omitted. I could tell so many stories of the early days: of the mutiny on the U. S. Brig "Niagara" and the hanging of James Bird at the yardarm;

. . . of the civic banquet in honor of Marie Joseph Paul Roch Ives Gilbert Motier, Marquis de La Fayette on a bridge over a gulley at Second and French Streets on June 3, 1825;

. . . of the four days in 1849 when the President of the United States, Zachary Taylor, overtaken by illness while passing through Erie, was attended by Dr. William Wood of the USS "Michigan";

. . . of the unfortunate accident at that time, when Vice-President Millard Fillmore came from Buffalo to see the President and while the ship was giving him the proper nineteen gun salute, the gun (there was only one) exploded and killed two boatswain's mates, the only time that blood was ever shed upon her decks;

. . . of the solemn hush when five thousand people stood reverently in the Union Depot as President Lincoln's body passed on its way to burial in Springfield, Illinois;

. . . of the Sawdust Trail laid here in 1909 by Rev. Billy Sunday and his trombonist Homer Rodeheaver;

. . . of the short-lived North Presbyterian Church and the unfortunate rat which died inside the organ.

Or I could tell of the ten-foot sturgeon caught by a soldier (1796) who waded up to it while it was asleep in the Bay and tickled its back while slipping a noose over its tail;

. . . of the immense flights of the carrier pigeon which literally darkened the sky for hours at a time;

. . . of the duck and goose shooting,—a hundred a day was easy;
. . . of the rare Chinook (Oregon) salmon which Joe English once caught in Lake Erie;
. . . of the rise and decline of the fishing industry;
. . . of the inauspicious strike of the iron molders (1912) and its adverse effect upon the growth of the city.

I could recite the glories of early football teams, when Captain Otto Meyer led the Erie High School team—eleven men and one substitute—against Masten Park High School of Buffalo;
. . . of the team play of Charlie Fry (5' 1") and Jack Sutton who once kicked the ball so hard that it exploded in mid-air;
. . . of the gay social parties of our grandparents at The Head and Sommerheim and Fishermans Inn and Cascade Club, and Johnny Knoll's during the Prohibition Era;
. . . of the Perry Celebration in 1913 and the Sesquicentennial in 1951, when the community really enjoyed itself and had fun.

Perhaps I should chronicle the birth and maturity of the electric light, of radio and television, of the movies, of the first talking moving picture (with phonograph) which charged thirty-five cents instead of the usual ten, and of the first Drive-in Movies whose loud speakers wailed and blared a cacophony which could be heard two miles away —even farther, down wind—until the Wolf Roaders rose in righteous revolt and went to court. The telephone at first was considered merely a child's toy; the efforts of the operator to give good service were praiseworthy. When I asked for a certain number she might reply "Not now, Sir, they have all gone to church;" or if I asked her to call me at six in the morning so that I could catch the seven o'clock train, she might call me at seven o'clock and say, "You can get up now, Sir, your train is an hour late."

History is the remembered and written record of the aspirations and hopes of men and of their leaders. The reasons for their successes and failures are the eternal WHY of history. What were the motives and what were the effects? Every movement has its reactions and the results can not always be perceived until many years later. What were the effects of the "Railroad War" here in 1858? Of the discovery of iron ore in Labrador? Of the land title confusion? Of the molders' strike?

While I have tried to show the ultimate results, I have also tried to portray the motives of those who founded and who built this city

with all its intricate organizations and ramifications. Why did the French come? Why build a canal? Why build a fleet here? Why did settlers come here? Why did so many avoid Erie? Why change the name from Presqu' Isle to Erie?

The correct spelling of French names which have been transliterated into common English usage is always a subject for argument. There are nine possible ways of spelling "Presqu' Isle;" I have followed the practice of the Coast & Geodetic Survey, although my personal preference is for that of the English soldier who escaped from that fort while the French held it; he called it "La Brisk Eel."

I have avoided biography although there are many men who should be remembered as the builders of this city. In the chapters of the various wars I have followed the course of each military unit as a unit, with only passing reference to the individuals who took part. Their deeds are certainly deserving of a more adequate treatment.

In following the growth of this community—and it parallels that of every community in the United States—the most striking change is the decrease of self-dependence and the increase of dependence upon government. It now seems that local tax sources are inadequate and insufficient to meet the demands of the people. The State (1961) pays 26% of the cost of our school system. The budget of the State (1962) is one billion dollars, of which 26% is for the Department of Public Welfare; to that sum the Federal government adds $111,000,000.

A century ago my aunt, Miss Laura Sanford, wrote the first (and best) "History of Erie County." From 1819 until her death in 1907 her life spanned the years of the City's greatest growth and much of her material was taken verbally from the original participants. She herself remembered shaking hands with the Marquis de La Fayette. I have drawn from her pages without hesitation and it is appropriate that this volume, appearing one hundred years later, should attempt to bring her material up to date.

A book like this could never be the work of one person working alone. In collecting data I have had the pleasant experience of asking and receiving the cooperation of many busy people, more than I can name in this preface. However, my especial thanks go to Dr. Paul A. Siple, Civilian Attaché for Polar Affairs to the General Staff of the U. S. Department of Defense, the well-known geographer and explorer who supplied most of the material and ideas of the first chapter on the geology and physiography of Erie County; and for the further advice

of Wallace DeWitt, Jr., of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. I am grateful for the consistent encouragement of Dr. Richard L. Beyer, Head of the Department of History of Gannon College, who read carefully and criticized constructively the manuscript; to Mr. Frank S. Anderson, Coordinator of Social Studies of the Erie School System, who also read it and gave me good counsel; to Mrs. Roy A. Spencer, retired Women's Probation officer, whose knowledge of social agencies is derived from a lifetime of service; and to Mr. Glenn Cantrell, who likes humor with his history.

For assistance in research I cannot thank too warmly the charming and efficient Head Librarian of the Erie Public Library, Miss Helen E. Rilling and her assistants in the Reference Department, Miss Marion Kelly and Miss Mary McCray, who spent many weary hours answering my queer questions with the greatest of cheerfulness; their department is indeed well organized and is a pleasure to the historian. Also a note of thanks to my brother Mr. J. C. Spencer whose recollections antedate mine and who unravelled successfully many obscure points. And I must mention Mr. George Mead, Publisher of the Erie Times, who started me upon this task; and especially Miss Ina Karhu, the only secretary in the whole world who can read my writing.

There are errors in this volume, of course, as well as many omissions. My interpretation of motives and events may sometimes be questioned. The errors I apologize for, the omissions I regret and the interpretations I am willing to argue happily with anyone who disagrees. History is fun.

1

PHYSIOGRAPHY

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■ ■ ■ After the earth had been created and after millions, if not billions, of years had passed, the spot on our globe now known as Erie County underwent primeval cooling. A crust formed which thickened, wrinkled and broke into mountains and valleys. The low areas were filled with seas. The high hills became worn down by eons of variable weather and the sediments were washed into the seas. Clay and mud lying on the sea bottom hardened in time into layers of rock, like the pages of a book. The primitive forms of life which inhabited the seas in those ancient days died, leaving skeletons, shells, leaves and bodies which settled into and upon these accumulating deposits from the land, and thus became permanently a part of the layers of rock. The variance in form and kind of these fossil imprints of life, layer by layer, differentiates one age from another and, accordingly, the geologist uses them to date the eras in which those ancient rock pages of earth history were written.

From time to time the ancient oceans changed their positions as great forces caused the surface or skin of the earth to warp and wrinkle, sometimes upward and sometimes downward. In this way, at times, the ocean bottoms became dry land. The history of what was going on in the slowly developing plant and animal kingdoms of the sea could not, of course, be recorded on dry land. Rainstorms, ice and rivers scoured away some of the rock layers, thus destroying the record of nature's changes. But all was not lost, for in fresh water ponds and hollows on the land surface, the primitive plants and animals which were inheriting the dry land left their own record. Sometimes so much

dead vegetation accumulated in swampy spots that this material, the dead remains of primitive forms of life, turned to peat. After being covered later by more sand, gravel and mud which in turn solidified to rock, it became what we now know as coal. Oil and gases were formed in somewhat the same way, by chemical deposits which seeped into the spaces between grains of sand. However, because of the fact that these chemical deposits could flow and thus move about, they tended to accumulate in large pockets or beds, especially when they were trapped between layers of rock which were so tough and impervious that they could no longer seep through. These places are now the oil fields and gas areas of the earth.

The very ancient history of the land surrounding Erie County is understandable only by those who take the trouble to learn the language of the rocks as the geologist must do. As we consider the oil of Titusville and the coal of Pittsburgh, we realize that the terrain and physiography of Erie County were entirely different then. If one should drill deep enough to reach the bottom of the thick sedimentary rocks which overlie Erie County, he would reach the old igneous basement rocks which were under the seas that once covered this whole region in the early eons of the earth's existence. On the other side of Lake Erie up in Canada there are places where, if seas ever did cover the land, the record has been erased all the way down to these fire-formed igneous rocks that were the original mass of the continent of North America.

The ancient geological history of Erie County is still imperfectly known. Even the reasons why the land rose or fell and why the climate changed in different eons are still debated in scientific circles. There are many possible answers to these questions. Perhaps the continents shifted about, or the poles of the earth's axis moved, or lands heavy with sediments sank while eroded mountains rose because they became lighter. These are only guesses. The only fact we can be sure of is that the earth crust has been mobile and plastic because it is underlain by materials which are still molten in character. The inside of the earth is hot. Another thing we are now sure of is that the energy which the earth receives from the sun varies. As this energy is responsible for the climate on the earth, it has been, at different times in the past, warmer, colder, drier or wetter than we know it now.

In the geological calendar, what occurred in the earliest eons can only be guessed, while what occurred in later eons can be de-

ciphered with reasonable accuracy. About the time when man was to become the dominant member of the animal kingdom, more or less a million years ago, there came a series of cold spells and warm spells, each ages long. The cold was intense enough to let snow and ice accumulate from one year to the next until the thickness could be measured in miles. This ice was centered in Canada and was so thick that it flowed southward slowly like a creeping amoeba. It had the force and weight to scrape off all the vegetation, the soil and loose rocks, and it carried along all this debris in its progress. Some of the Great Lakes were thus scoured and deepened as this great ice mass spilled past them over Erie County and continued on to the south toward the location of Pittsburgh. With the disappearance of the causes of this cold spell, the causes of this ice age, the ice began to melt away. Sand, mud, gravel and boulders were thus dumped from the ice in great mounds. Moraines and old shore lines marked its retreating edges, accounting in part for the shapes of the long ridges which parallel Lake Erie across Erie County. This great ice mass, at its maximum, reached almost from ocean to ocean and spread southward down through the central part of the continent to the Ohio River. The ice crossed Erie and Crawford Counties, but ended its advance in Mercer, Venango, Forest and southeastern Warren County.

Of course, when the ice melted there were floods of water which made deep channels as they drained off. Some but not all of the ponds, lakes and swamps formed during this time have since disappeared. The main flow of water crossed Erie County and drained into what is now the Allegheny River.

The great glaciers of ice advanced and retreated several times. It is believed that in the long intervals between glacial advances the weather grew warmer than we know it today. Fossil sponges, which grew only in the salt seas of a tropic climate, are frequently found here. Vegetation reestablished itself on the glacial debris only to be swept away again by another bulldozing advance of the ice sheet.

It was perhaps 10,000 years ago that the ice advanced southward for the last time, and scientists now study the climates and sun with care, wondering if sometime in the next few thousand years an ice sheet will again scrape the landscape clear, including all parts of civilization in its path.

As we look about us in Erie County we see the mantle of material deposited by the ice. Soils have formed and forests, plants, animals

and people have taken over the land. Everywhere there are granite boulders, rocks and pebbles all of which were brought here by the ice from the Laurentian Mountains of Ontario. Our own underlying rocks are mostly shales, sand stones and limestone, only here and there exposed below the glacial drift.

Lake Erie, the oldest of the Great Lakes, began as a puddle at the foot of the ice sheet. If one should travel direct from Greenland to Lake Erie, he would pass over and see every different kind of terrain of which, at one time or another, Erie County has been composed. First a sheet of solid ice; then thawed tundra, without trees; then stunted trees and many lakes; then many swamps, small lakes, and evergreen trees with good soil; finally the land as we now know it, consisting of good soil, deciduous and evergreen trees, few lakes, many streams, and the remains of swamps. The Le Boeuf swamp north of Waterford, the Tamarack swamp near McKean, and the area between West Eighth and Twelfth streets are examples of these old swamps, as is Pymatuming swamp in Crawford County. The Tamarack swamp has the unusual distinction of being on top of the watershed and its waters drain in one direction to the St. Lawrence River and in the other to the Mississippi. It is two miles long and is halfway between Waterford and McKean. All of these swamps were lakes at one time which became filled in with vegetable matter. This same process can be watched on the Presqu' Isle peninsula, where the ponds are being filled in and obliterated by the natural course of the growth and decay of vegetation.

Traces of the former shore lines of the lake which we now call Lake Erie can be seen in many parts of Erie County. Lake sand can be found several hundred feet above the present lake level. In fact, there are fourteen different levels which were at some time the shore of the lake; the highest one is 812 feet A. T. (Above Tide); the present level of Lake Erie is 573 feet A.T. It is not difficult to trace these old beaches and shore lines. On a lake beach the action of the waves forms flat pebbles from sedimentary rock, whereas a running stream forms rounded pebbles. These sandy ridges or terraces, called buried beaches, are clearly evident in many places in Erie County, even eight or ten miles inland. The low ridge which is now the West Lake Road was at one time the bank of Lake Erie, as was the similar ridge on West 26th Street.

There are four low rolling ridges in Erie County, all parallel to the lake. The lowest ridge is nearest to the lake, and the highest is

1400 feet above tide. Between them are pleasant valleys fairly level and filled with good soil. There are only four small lakes, but the entire area of 476,515 acres is well watered by many streams. An advertisement of 1803, urging settlers to buy farm lands here, says "Scarce a hundred acres but has its own springs and waters." That is literally true and Erie County is blessed and fortunate in having abundant water. The many streams contain water all year long and few of them are dry even in the hottest summer. They now carry much less water than in former days, however, owing to the removal of the timber. Forest trees conserve water, preventing run-off and floods.

The watershed in the east end of the county is only six miles from the shore of the lake and in the west end only nine or ten miles. South of this line, all streams flow between low banks and fertile fields southward into French Creek and so to the Mississippi River.

The north-flowing streams which empty into Lake Erie are entirely different. As the ice sheet retreated many thousands of years ago, the puddle between it and the watershed drained to the east or to the west. The land rose as the weight of the ice was taken off and Lake Erie assumed its present location and shape, with the newly-risen ridges along its south shore. Then these north-flowing streams had to cleave their way through the four ridges; in doing this they cut deep ravines in the soft soil, even 200 feet deep; locally they are called Gulfs, or Gulches. All north-flowing streams have this characteristic, and these gulches form some of the most beautiful and awe-inspiring scenery of the East. Conneaut Creek, Crooked Creek, Elk Creek ("Devil's Back Bone"), Walnut Creek, Mill Creek, Four Mile Creek ("Wintergreen Gorge"), Six Mile, Eight Mile, Twelve Mile, Sixteen Mile, Twenty Mile Creeks, all form such gulches, and the deepest of all is Chautauqua Creek at Westfield, New York, called by the French La Rivière aux Pommes.

By cutting these gulches, the streams in the eastern part of the county flow directly north into the lake; in the western part they were forced to find a circuitous route. The source of Walnut Creek is only seven miles from the lake, but it flows fifteen miles to reach it. Elk Creek heads ten miles from the lake, but flows thirty miles to the west before cutting its way through the ridge; Conneaut Creek is seventy miles long, but some of its sources are only twelve miles from the lake.

One unusual feature of the rock in Erie County is a type of shale which is called Cone-in-Cone. It occurs as a layer of shale, often quite

deep, in patches which vary in thickness from ½ to 4 inches, and in area perhaps ten feet across. It can be found in many of the deep gulches such as that of Six Mile Creek, Twenty Mile Creek, Elk Creek, and others. It was formed under the great pressure of the land and the ice masses; in appearance it resembles an infinite series of interlaced cones, points downward.

There are many places in Erie County where the layers of shale in the beds of these streams are hard and heavy enough to be used for building purposes. The almost 200 locks of the Erie Extension Canal were lined with local stone. In 1880 there were 42 quarries in Erie County.

No metals have been discovered, nor has coal ever been found; a certain amount of iron ore, called Bog Ore, was once dug at the Laird farm near the head of Presqu' Isle Bay. There was enough to keep a small foundry running for several years.

Natural gas in small quantity can be found almost anywhere, and formerly nearly every farm had its own well. Some of these wells have been flowing for almost a hundred years, with enough volume to give adequate heat to one or two homes. It used to be a common sight to see a large flaming gas light burning, night and day, summer and winter, in front of a farmhouse; gas to burn, the farmers said.

The first known use of natural gas—as opposed to gas manufactured from soft coal—as a commercial business was in Fredonia, New York. The local paper, named "Fredonia Censor" describes the arrangement in its issue of Nov. 30, 1825:

> NATURAL GAS—We have now the pleasure of stating that the arrangements for constructing a gasometer and laying down lead pipe for conducting the Gas to a number of buildings in this village, as we have before mentioned, are now carried into complete operation, and we last evening witnessed the burning of 56 beautiful, clear Gas lights.
>
> As this is undoubtedly the first attempt which has ever been made to apply natural Gas to so extensive and useful a purpose, we shall give a brief description of the manner in which it is effected in this village. A 1½" hole was drilled 27 feet into a slaty rock on the margin of the creek, from whence the Gas issues—from this it is conducted about 25 feet in lead pipe and discharged into a vat 6 feet by 8 feet and 4 feet deep, excavated out of a solid rock, and which is filled with

water. Over this vat is suspended the gasometer, which is constructed of sheet-iron and will hold upwards of 1200 gallons.

The use of gas for city lighting spread rapidly. In 1829 the entire city of Pittsburgh was brilliantly illuminated by 100 gas lights.

On March 24, 1858 the streets of Erie were first lighted. On that day the City first employed "gaslighters"—boys who ran along the streets turning on the gas lamps. When a boy was skilled, he could do it on his bicycle without slowing down. There was one lamp in every block from Myrtle to Holland and from Front to Buffalo Streets. This was natural gas from Erie County.

The first well primarily for the commercial production and sale of natural gas in Erie County was drilled in 1854. In 1860, natural gas was used for the first time in the City of Erie as fuel for factories.

There are no records of the commercial production of natural gas until 1947 when a well, relatively deep as compared to those for farm dwellings, was drilled at a spot two miles northwest of Corry. From 1947 through 1954, there were 23 wells drilled in this area, nine of them being dry holes and the remaining fourteen producing gas on a commercial scale. These wells have now been converted into a storage area by the Pennsylvania Gas Company, to augment the normal supply of gas for Erie County customers during the winter season. The gas for storage comes from Texas and is pumped down underground under high pressure. This area is expected to store 4,700,000,000 cubic feet of gas.

In 1946 a discovery well was drilled in the Summit Township area, a few miles south of the City of Erie. This well had an initial open flow of 420 MCF[1] per day. Between 1946 and 1955, there were a few wells drilled in this area, but the main development came in 1955, 1956 and 1957. There were approximately 100 wells drilled then, with an average depth of 2,350 feet, 28 being dry holes and the remaining wells having initial open flows ranging from 140 MCF per day to more than 10,000 MCF per day. This area also has been converted into a storage field by the Pennsylvania Gas Company.

In December 1960 there were between 175 and 180 wells for natural gas in Erie County. This number does not include the many shallow "shale gas" wells which were in use along the shores of Lake Erie, usually each for a single dwelling.

In recent years there have been some wells drilled with commercial production in the western section of Erie County, but no new

1 MCF, 1000 cubic feet.

fields have been developed which compare with the Summit area.

Petroleum is another matter; hundreds of dry holes have been drilled in every part of the county with absolutely no success, although the big Pennsylvania Oil Region of Titusville is only 20 miles away. Traces of oil have been found, but nothing of value. In the various quarries sometimes the stone seems to be somewhat greasy. The Eagle Hotel at Waterford is built of stone from the Old Middleton Quarry; after the building was completed the stone began to show dark stains oozing out to the surface, and the whole house smelled of oil.

2

PRESQU' ISLE PENINSULA

Presqu' Isle Peninsula is the most striking feature of the landscape of Erie County. It is basically a sand bar, with no bed rock foundation, which for some unknown reason became anchored here. One theory for its existence is that it began as a sand bar at the mouth of a creek, perhaps Walnut Creek, or perhaps even a creek as far west as Sandusky Bay. With the prevailing winds and current, the sands were washed away from the western end (the Neck) and were deposited around the eastern end (the Point) until the western end was washed away and the eastern end became connected with the shore; then the process repeated itself, time after time. Thus we can imagine our Peninsula tumbling along the shore of Lake Erie in geologic somersaults. A chart of the Peninsula, surveyed by Lieut. T. S. Brown in 1836, is marked at The Neck: "Here the shore is wearing away" and at the Point: "Here the sand is accumulating," a fact which has been re-discovered by the Pennsylvania Park and Harbor Commission.

When the first settlers arrived, the peninsula joined the mainland about 3 miles west of the present Neck.

A Fairy Tale of the birth of the Peninsula and its reason for existing, is given in the following story:

THE SHELTERING ARM OF THE GREAT SPIRIT

An Indian Legend of Presqu' Isle[1]

After Manitou, the great Spirit, had created the world with its mountains and its valleys, with its forests full of game and its lakes and streams full of fish, he led his favorite children, the Erie tribe, to the shores of the great unsalted sea and spoke to them thus:

"This is the place, my children, which your father, the Great Spirit has chosen for the site of your villages. The hills and the plains abound in game to feed you and clothe you; the pure water from the streams will slake your thirst; the fields will yield a hundred fold returns from the labors of your women; the lake will furnish you fish in abundance; the sun rising beyond the mountains in the East will give you life and the cool, health-giving breezes coming from the land of snow and ice will strengthen your sons and daughters in mind and body so that you, my favorite children, may be the pride of your race."

And the Eries, obedient to the wishes and commands of the Great Spirit, erected their wigwams on the shores of the Great Lake.

They hunted the buffalo and the deer on the plains and the panther and the bear in the mountains. The women tilled the fields which yielded maize and pumpkins in abundance. The fishermen in their birch-bark canoes rode the waters of the lake and their labor was bountifully repaid, for the blessing of the Great Spirit was with them and their canoes returned to the shores heavily laden with fish from the depths of the lake.

They ventured far out into the lake to find the place where the sun sank into the waters. And the spirits of the lake, angered at the boldness of the fishermen, caused a great storm to rise.

Whipped by the fury of the wind, the great waves drove the frail canoes before them as the storm of winter drives the dry leaves of the forest before it.

When the darkness of the night came, the flashes of lightning showed the fishermen fighting for their lives and appealing to the Great Spirit for help in this, their hour of peril.

And the Great Spirit, moved to pity by the cries of distress from his favorite children, determined to save them from their great peril and taking a firm hold with his right hand on the hills overlooking the lake, he stretched out his great left arm into the lake to protect the fishermen from the fury of the storm, and behind this sheltering arm of

1 Author unknown.

the Great Spirit, the fishermen drove their canoes in safety to the shore.

Where the sheltering arm of the Great Spirit had lain in the lake to protect the fishermen against the fury of the storm, a great sand bar in the shape of an arm-like peninsula was formed to act for all ages as a shelter and harbor of refuge for the Great Spirit's favorite children, The Eries.

■ ■ ■

The Peninsula contains about 3500 acres of land. It is all sand, traversed by many ponds and swamps, covered thickly with almost impenetrable vegetation. The central section is the oldest and is covered with a heavy growth of red oak, pin oak and other hardwoods. Despite the fact that the adjoining shores of the mainland used to be lined with chestnut trees, there never have been any of this species on the peninsula. The eastern end is the youngest part, being only a few years old. Thus it is possible, in a walk of only three miles, to trace the growth and variance of vegetation from new to established ecology. On the bare sand of the point there is nothing; the first vegetation is a low tough wiry grass; the next is composed of bayberry bushes and poplar trees; then comes heavy growth of white pine and other soft woods and swamp bushes, which is almost impenetrable; this in turn is displaced by the hard woods of the beech-maple-oak succession. In a thorough survey in 1900, Dr. Jennings of the Carnegie Museum listed 439 different species of plants and trees. As for birds, a continuing survey by the Presqu' Isle Nature Club has recorded 284 species, resident or migrant.

The Peninsula consists of a number of parallel sand dunes with ponds lying between. Some of the ponds are now filled with vegetation and obliterated. It is interesting to note that all these ponds extend lengthwise southeast and northwest in direction, at an angle of about 45 degrees to the current of the lake. Across the lake on the shore of Canada there is another peninsula, called Long Point (so named by the French) which has the same structure, and the ponds therein take the same complementary angle to the lake current, running almost northeast and southwest. It is possible that there was a land bridge across the lake here, at some early geological age in the life of Lake Erie.

These ponds were formerly cranberry bogs, and a century ago the crop of this fruit was eagerly sought and picked by the local residents. By a law passed through the State Legislature in 1841, the first

day of October was designated as Cranberry Day. It was an important holiday in Erie; whole families crossed over the night before, camped on the Peninsula and at sunrise began the hunt for the delicious fruit. By sunset there was little of it left. An earlier historian of the occasion reports that the holiday "was aggravated by intemperance." At any rate, the cranberry was exterminated, and in the present memory of man not one single plant has been found.

In 1922 under the inspiration of Mr. T. O. Andrews, Captain William L. Morrison, Mr. George Taylor and other leading citizens of Erie, the Peninsula became the Presqu' Isle State Park. There were many legal difficulties in the way because no one was quite sure just who owned it. The State claimed it, because it had never been sold or surveyed and divided into lots. The Federal Government claimed to own it as a part of the Presqu' Isle naval station. The Army Engineer Corps claimed it as an essential part of Erie Harbor. The City of Erie had administered it for many years. Private individuals (The Scott Estate) had a fairly good claim to own it by the common-law doctrine of riparian rights.

It required many months of patient work by the civic-minded promoters of this idea to straighten out the legal tangle. Congress in Washington passed legislation which deeded it to the State, a quit-claim deed. The City of Erie did likewise. The private parties were cooperative—they didn't want it. The "Erie Boosters" put on a public campaign which raised $75,000. This money was given to the State-appointed Pennsylvania Park and Harbor Commission, who contracted with the Charles H. Fry Construction Company to build the first section of the approach road.

Presqu' Isle Peninsula encloses and forms Erie Bay and Harbor, which is 4 miles long and at its greatest width 1½ miles. The natural depth in the center is 25 feet, but the commercial area has been dredged to accommodate the largest ore-carrying ships. On account of the continuous flow of sand around the Point, the entrance at the east end must be dredged yearly. From 1833 to 1864 there was a second entrance for small ships at the western end of the bay with a channel 8 feet deep, but it became silted up, although it was in use for about 30 years. Again there was an opening from 1919 to 1923 deep enough for row boats. To keep the lake out of the bay, at that point, is a continuing battle.

Erie Harbor was called "The finest harbor in Nature" by Bois-

hébert, the French officer who first discovered it. It is the only natural harbor on Lake Erie, except for the small one of Put-In-Bay. In the old days before the bar was dredged and a harbor channel made, ships could find good shelter by anchoring outside the harbor but behind and east of the Peninsula. Inside, once the bar was passed, there was plenty of room for fleets of ships. A cove just inside the channel entrance provides anchorage for any ships small enough to get inside; this place is called by the peculiar name of "Misery Bay," a name given to it by Lieut. Holdup[1] when the American fleet wintered there in 1814. The reasons for this name were obvious at the time. Some of them were: sickness of the crews; poor food; gloomy Erie winter weather; difficulty of getting to Erie because the ice was too thick for boats and too thin for walking. Another reason was that they ran out of whiskey.

The climate of Erie County is mild. Along the northern part, the lake moderates the temperature both winter and summer. The colder the weather is, in winter, the more heat the lake must give off. For that reason the lake shore is always warmer than the southern section. Killing frosts in the spring are only rarely experienced after the middle of April in the north, and three weeks later in the south. The growing season is seven months long in the north, and four in the south. Concord grapes, which are the biggest crop, will grow best in the north, where they are harvested as late as the middle of October. They do not flourish in the southern section because of early frosts.

For many years there was a prejudice that this variety of grape would not grow west of the City of Erie. The idea started because a German farmer imported from Germany some special varieties and planted them in his farm at Manchester, ten miles west of Erie. The crop failed, and for many years thereafter no one dared to plant grapes in the western section. Only recently have they been grown there.

Erie weather is determined by the cyclonic storms which regularly cross the country from west to east. Erie is between the flat plains of the west and the mountain ranges of the Appalachians. These storms

1 Lieutenant Thomas Holdup, who in the Battle of Lake Erie commanded the Schooner "Trippe," received his name in an unusual way. General Stevens, a veteran of the American Revolution, lived in Charleston, South Carolina. One autumn afternoon in 1795 after there had been a severe storm of several days' duration, he drove out of the city and along the beach. He noticed some wreckage, part of a large schooner, which had just been blown oshore. Something white happened to catch his eye. He shouted to his coachman, "Thomas, HOLD UP!" Thomas stopped the horses, and the General walked over to the wreckage. There he discovered that the piece of white cloth which had caught his eye, was a white baby. He saw that it was still alive, and took it to his home and cared for it. He brought up the child with his own family. Knowing no other name, he gave it this unusual one. When the boy was twenty years old, two years after the Battle of Lake Erie, the General legally adopted him and gave him the name "Thomas Holdup Stevens." Some of his descendants are Erie residents.

roll across the plains, bump into the mountains and are then shunted to the north to get around them. Thus they all pass over Erie and for that reason Erie is, during the winter months, lacking in sunshine. Of continental United States, only the Pacific northwest and eastern Lake Ontario have less sunshine than Erie. This may be true in winter, but the summer months make up for this deficiency by providing many weeks of uninterrupted glorious sunshine.

In the winter months, December, January and February, the average daily hours of sunshine may be only three; in July and August there are nine and one-half hours average, and sometimes ten. The worst storms come from the southwest, and the most pleasant weather from the northwest.

Weather Statistics

Erie		Corry
27.2° F	January average temperature	26° F
65.5° F	July average temperature	70° F
48.6° F	Annual average temperature	46° F
94°	Maximum temperature	110°
—16°	Minimum temperature	—30°
200 days	Growing season	123 days
34.5 inches	Average precipitation	44 inches
60 inches	Average winter snowfall	80 inches
October 31	Earliest killing frost	September 23
April 20	Latest killing frost	May 24
80	Days of snow cover	100
55	Average snow, inches	91½
30	Days of thunderstorms	40
75	July relative humidity average	75
80	January relative humidity average	85

3

QUEEN YAGOWANEA

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■ ■ ■ In this pleasant region of rolling ridges, thick forest, gentle streams and blue fresh water lake with sandy shores and schools of fish, there lived a tribe of Indians who called themselves the Errieronens, or Eriehonows, or Reiereigas, a name which happily was shortened to Eries. Their nation was defeated and destroyed by the Seneca Nation before the advent of European explorers and colonists and, as they had no written language, little is know of them except by legend and by a few artifacts, forts and burial grounds. The few surviving warriors and women became slaves of the Senecas and it was by them that the legends were told and re-told until at length they were written down by French priests. These written-down legends are our only information about the Eries.

One burial site was discovered about 1830 on land owned by Mr. Judah Colt, near East Twenty-eighth Street in what is now the City of Erie. When he saw that it was a grave, Mr. Colt immediately ordered that it be covered decently and closed. One hundred years later the Public Works Administration, whose sensibilities were less inhibited, discovered the site and excavated it thoroughly. Many arrowheads, pottery fragments and other artifacts were uncovered, including several skeletons. One of these has been nicknamed "Little Joe," and now rests in peace in the Erie Public Museum.

The Eries apparently occupied all the region on the south shores of Lake Erie. To the east lived the Senecas, one of the five nations of the confederacy which the French called the Iroquois. To the west lived

the Mississaguas, a branch of the Wyandots, who were hereditary enemies of the Iroquois.

The north shore of the lake was occupied by the Neutral Nation, so named by the French because they maintained neutrality between the warlike eastern Iroquois and the Hurons in the west; their territory seems to have extended across the Niagara River as far east as the Genesee River, near what is now Rochester. Indian boundaries were never exact and as there was plenty of land for the inhabitants the natives never had to wage war for territory. That was a European custom which was not introduced until a later date.

The first white man to visit the Eries and to leave a record of them was Etienne Brulé, in 1615. Another Frenchman, Father D'Allyon, a Jesuit priest, in 1626 visited several of their villages, and in his report to his Superior he mentioned the fact that they made it a practice to keep as pets small animals of which the nearest French equivalent was a cat. He named them the Nation du Chat. We can only guess what this animal was; it might have been a raccoon, or an opossum; but it is probable that it was a skunk which, if treated respectfully, could become a pretty pet. It was able to eat anything, although its preferred food was grasshoppers and grubs; it was never attacked by the dogs of the Indians; its odor was not considered objectionable by their owners.[1] However, we are happy that the priest did not call them the Skunk Tribe.

From the legends, as they were written down in the "Jesuit Relations" by French Missionaries, we can reconstruct the tragic story of the Eries, of their wise Queen Yagowanea, and of their long struggle in defense of their own homelands against the savage ferocity of the Senecas.

Queen Yagowanea was the ruler of the Eries. She was a sagacious and judicious monarch, whose reputation for wisdom extended far beyond the limits of her own territory. Often she was called upon to act as mediator between disputants of other tribes, and she had the respect of all the Indians of the east. Her reputation for fairness was known everywhere. From the beginning of her reign, she insisted upon the policy of neutrality between the eastern Iroquois and the western Wyandots and Hurons, as did the Neutral Nation who lived around the east end of Lake Erie. Nevertheless, though neutral, the Erie Warriors were known and feared, and they gave power to the Queen's policy

1 Olfactorily and felicitously contrapuntal.

of neutrality. Her chief warrior or minister was Ragnatha, who lived where Buffalo now stands.

But the policy of neutrality, even armed neutrality, was as difficult in those days as it has been in recent times. One day, two warriors of the Mississagua tribe came to the Queen's lodge. After they had smoked the customary pipe of tobacco, in token of friendliness, they told the Queen the purpose of their visit. One of their tribe had been murdered; Indian custom approved the taking of revenge; the murderer had escaped and taken refuge among the lodges of the Eries; would the Queen assist them in finding the murderer? Gravely, the Queen considered the case, and then she gave her permission and promised help, as atoning for a murder was an act of justice. However, sitting with them around the fire were two Seneca warriors, traditional enemies of the Mississaguas and the Wyandots. These two were amazed to hear the Queen make a decision which in their opinion was a brazen breech of her policy of neutrality. They protested at some length but the Queen, after listening to their plea, replied that she could not condone murder and that justice must be done. Immediately the two Senecas threw down the pipe of tobacco and departed for their own country.

They reported this event to the Grand Council of the Seneca Nation, who deliberated the matter at length. The Senecas were never hesitant to wage war, and this seemed a good opportunity to do so. Such a war could be profitable and pleasurable. War was good education for the young men and was an opportunity to obtain glory, booty and slaves. The Council voted for war.

A modern civilized person does not understand the psychology of the Indian in regard to war. War was considered not hateful but glorious, not unfortunate but rather an opportunity for fortune. The successful warrior was esteemed worthy of honor and was given a seat in the Councils of the Tribe. Death was only a risk. Death by the torture of fire was the customary one for the captured warrior and was a trial to be endured gloriously and with honorable bravery.

The Queen learned of this decision. She called Ragnatha with all his warriors to meet and decide what to do. One afternoon, as her Council was deliberating, a boy rushed in to tell them that a bear had been seen, up on the hill just behind the camp. Instantly the Council broke up. Everyone rushed out and ran up the hill intent upon capturing the bear and expecting to enjoy bear steak that evening. The bear

seemed to be feeding upon a large berry bush and did not run away as quickly as bears usually do. Just as the panting Erie warriors drew near, the supposed bear suddenly threw off the disguise and revealed himself as a Seneca Chief; the war whoop sounded and the Eries found they had been lured into an ambush.

The Eries also were brave warriors, fighting within sight of their homes and families. A terrific battle ensued which lasted until darkness fell, when both sides were glad to withdraw. The ferocity of the fight may be judged by the fact that over 600 were killed, an enormous carnage for an Indian battle. Neither side won but the war ceased, at least temporarily. This probably occurred in 1634.

For twenty years there was peace between the two tribes, but it was an uneasy peace. The Senecas had rarely been defeated and this time they had failed to win. The old men remembered. However, Queen Yagowanea persisted in her efforts to maintain friendly relations; to ensure continuing peace, she sent a delegation of thirty Erie warriors to the Grand Council of the Senecas. There they smoked and deliberated for several days, with apparent friendliness. But, in some unknown way, a dispute arose between a Seneca and an Erie over a pretty little Indian maiden who covertly had smiled at each of them. There was a quick fight, and the Seneca was killed. Instantly the camp was aroused to a fighting fury. The Senecas attacked and killed the other twenty-nine Erie warriors. This meant war, and war to the finish. The Senecas determined to exterminate the Eries.

There were a number of battles; the Senecas were assisted by the other tribes of the Iroquois; the Eries fought alone. Great bravery was shown on both sides; an Indian battle was never one of massed manoeuvre, but rather of a multitude of single fights between individuals. In spite of much personal bravery, by sheer force of numbers the Eries were pushed back farther and farther to the west.

The Queen still clung to the hope of honorable peace and friendship. In one battle, the Eries captured one of the head chiefs of the Onondaga tribe, of the Iriquois Confederacy. According to established custom, the prisoner could either be killed by torture, or could be adopted into an Erie family as a substitute for an Erie Chief who had been killed. The Onondaga was accepted for adoption and the preparatory rites were about to take place. Then one of the adopting family, a sister of the Erie Chief who had been killed, entered the lodge and announced that she had changed her mind and would not accept the

Onondaga chief as a substitute brother. The alternative was death by fire which the sister insisted upon and which the Onondaga stoically agreed to. But, before he died, he warned the Queen and all the Eries that vengeance would result. It did.

The war went on, becoming a ferocious war of extermination. The Senecas were assisted by the Onondagas and Mohawks and Oneidas who, living farther to the east, had firearms which they had obtained from the Dutch at Albany. The mere noise of one of these muzzle-loading flint-lock muskets was a fearful thing, intimidating the enemy. Although the Eries were brave warriors, they could not withstand the power and numbers of their enemies. They were beaten back from one stand to another, defeated but stubborn. Their last stand was at Kelly's Island, in the western end of Lake Erie, where they erected an earthen fort and for many days fought off attack after attack. But, at last, by sheer manpower the Senecas overran the fort. The Eries, every man, woman and child of them, were either killed or captured. The Queen was killed, while encouraging her men. Some of the women and a few men were kept as slaves, but the warriors were given the honor of a warrior's death; there is a legend that, on the night after the final attack, there were a thousand fires in the woods, each fire roasting an Erie warrior.

Thus the Erie Nation was exterminated and ceased to exist. Their beautiful land was empty of people. The blood-soaked ground was avoided by other Indians. No one lived here. Only an occasional small hunting or fishing party traveled through, intent upon fish or game, and then departed quickly from its sinister emptiness.

A century and a half later when the first settlers arrived, they found no Indians.

4

THE FRENCH ARRIVE

While the Indians freely roamed the plains and forests and rivers of North America, economic forces originating in Europe began to threaten their way of life. After Columbus and other explorers had discovered this huge continent of America the news of these lands, their wealth and fertility spread quickly throughout Europe. Land then was the principal form of wealth and this new land was free to anyone who had the strength to take it.

From the crowded towns and villages of England, from the small farm plots of feudal France, from the scenes of petty persecution by feudal lords and barons in all Europe, a tide of adventurers and settlers, longing for religious, political and economic freedom, was about to invade these new lands and ultimately to possess them. Three hundred years of warfare lay before them.

In this settlement and colonization of North America, the French and the English arrived at approximately the same time.

The philosophy and the political systems of these two peoples were utterly different although both were monarchies with an hereditary king. In England, a Protestant country, the power of the king was exercised through and under the control of a Parliament of the peers and the people. In France, a Catholic country, the king exercised uncontrolled power through the nobles (who were exempted from taxation) and the large land owners, who in turn controlled the small land owners and farmers. There was little economic freedom and the people,

although not "bound to the soil" as serfs or slaves, could not escape from the village in which they had been born except with permission from the lord of the manor.

In both countries the land was crowded and farms became smaller and smaller with each new generation. In both countries there was narrow-minded persecution of religious sects by the ruling authorities. In both were men and women who knew what freedom could be and who had the strength and the desire to seize it,—freedom of religion, freedom from unjust taxation, freedom for a man to manage his own life and that of his family. However, in the settlements made by the French people in Canada there was a tendency to preserve the French kind of feudal system in that the settlers lived in close-built villages while their farms were at a distance out in the country. On the other hand, the English preferred to build their homes on their own farm land, each freely on his own, and moved into the villages only when danger threatened.

Arriving in America, the English stayed along the coast of the Atlantic and their settlements advanced only as far as the foot of the Allegheny Mountains, which were then called the Endless Mountains. These were barriers which could be crossed only on foot or with a packhorse. They were too steep for a road. The farms nestled under them and no one but the lonely hunter or trader ventured across. Except through the Cumberland Gap in Virginia and the valley of the Mohawk River in New York, civilization could go no farther to the westward.

The French on the other hand, taking possession of the valley of the St. Lawrence River, had the whole central part of the continent open to them through the pathways of the rivers of Canada and the Great Lakes. Their missionaries and traders, traveling by canoe, penetrated the interior as far as the Mississippi River and down it to its mouth, where they founded a colony which was named Louisiana. Everywhere they made friends with the Indians, traded guns and cloth and cooking pots for valuable furs. The fur trade was their desire and the export of furs from Montreal to France was to become a valuable monopoly. The aim of the French was furs, not farms.

With trading posts firmly established along the St. Lawrence, a flourishing colony in Louisiana and the fur trade between the two, the French naturally wanted to make this territory exclusively their own, for trade and for settlement. The route of discovery had been from Montreal through the Ottawa River to Lake Huron; thence to Lake Michi-

gan and from Green Bay to the Mississippi River. But this route was closed by ice for five months of the year; a faster and warmer route was needed.

An animated correspondence, via France, between the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor of Canada and M. de Bienville, Governor of Louisiana, discussed this question of communications. As a result in 1739 the first military expedition was sent from Montreal to find a shorter route, to explore and map this unknown territory. This force was commanded by Baron de Longueuil; it consisted of 78 French, 45 Habitants (Canadians) and 319 Indians, a total of 442 men. In canoes and pirogues they paddled up the St. Lawrence River to Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Ontario; thence they went along the north shore of Lake Ontario because on the south shore was the English fort at Oswego. They crossed to Niagara Falls, portaged around them (eleven miles of back-breaking toil), then followed the south shore of Lake Erie until they reached the Rivière aux Pommes which is now called Chautauqua Creek, at Barcelona near Westfield, New York. There they portaged over to Lake Chautauqua and followed Conewango Creek down to what we now call the Allegheny River, to which the French gave the much more beautiful name of La Belle Rivière. This they followed all the way to what is now Tennessee, mapping the route as carefully as it was possible to do in those days.

This map, dated and published 1740, shows the Chautauqua portage which was the route taken by the expedition. It also shows clearly the Lake Erie-Lake LeBoeuf portage to French Creek. This is the earliest mention of what later became Erie County. The map also shows the portage of the Miami River in western Ohio. The engineer who made this map must have heard of these portages from Indians or from French traders, because they are located with definite exactitude, right where they belong.

The French statesmen knew that in order to have legal and accepted title to territory, it was necessary to occupy and protect it. The steps to possession are discovery, mapping, notifying, occupying and protecting with military force. They planned to take possession, officially and formally, of all this territory. Thus they would own the interior of North America and the British would be confined between the Endless Mountains and the Atlantic Ocean, a relatively narrow strip.

In 1749, ten years after the expedition of Baron de Longueuil, the second military expedition under the command of Pierre Joseph

Céloron de Blainville set out from Montreal for this purpose. It was composed of 180 Habitants, 30 Indians, 20 French soldiers, a Chaplain, 15 officers and cadets; a total of 246 men. They followed the same route as Baron de Longueuil, crossing the Chautauqua portage and descending La Belle Rivière. At important-looking locations such as a large river junction they buried lead plates on which was printed a formal notice that this land belonged to the King of France.[1] They tried to impress the Indians with their strength and their desire for fair trade practices. They met with British traders at several places and peremptorily ordered them to leave the country, which the traders agreed to do but probably didn't. They found a British trader named John Fraser who had set up a trading post and a blacksmith shop at Venango[2], now near Franklin, Pennsylvania; they ordered him to go back to the east, to the English settlements. They descended the Ohio as far as the Miami River in Western Ohio and went north to Lake Erie by that route, following the north shore of Lake Erie to Niagara. Presqu' Isle was still officially undiscovered; traders knew of it, but not the Governor nor the Military.

Four years later in 1753 Governor Duquesne, who was now Governor of Canada, acting upon instructions of the French government, sent from Montreal the third military expedition consisting of 300 French, 200 Indians and 1700 Habitants, 2200 men in all. The French were professional soldiers of the French army from France; the Habitants were Canadian-born descendents of French settlers; the Indians were partly true woods Indians and partly those who hung around the French settlements scrounging a living.

The purpose of this expedition was to build three forts to protect the portage. One was to be on Lake Erie at Rivière aux Pommes; one on Lake Chautauqua at the upper end of the Portage; the third at the junction of the outlet of that Lake (Conewango River) with La Belle Riv'ère. Other purposes were to build storehouses for trade goods, to impress the Indians with the fact that this was French territory and to obtain for the French a complete monopoly of trade. In short, to occupy and to own the country. The Commander of the expedition was Pierre Paul de la Malgue, Sieur de Marin, a sixty-year old veteran of many years' service in Canada. Second in command was Michel-Jean-Hugues Péan. The engineer who was to design and build the forts was Chev-

1 One of these plates has been found at the Great Kanawha River and is now in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society.
2 Venango: the Seneca word for mink.

alier François Le Mercier. In command of the advance party of 250 men was Charles Deschamps de Boishébert, a natural-born leader who had already been in the French army for eleven of his twenty-four years.

The expedition was transported in three kinds of boats; first: canoes, usually of birch bark which were light, fast, easy to paddle and to carry across a portage; they were used mainly for carrying the men; the larger ones were perhaps forty feet long with sixteen paddlers and could carry thirty or forty men with their baggage. Second: pirogues, which were large and heavily built canoes, sometimes of bark and sometimes a "dugout" hollowed log of a big tree; they carried both men and freight and were paddled; like canoes they could be drawn up on the shore. Third: bateaux; these were heavy flat-bottomed boats for carrying the heaviest freight loads; they were too heavy to drag ashore and were usually tied or anchored out in the deeper water; they could be poled, paddled or rowed; with a favorable breeze a blanket could be hoisted as a sail.

The logistics of supply for this expedition were difficult. They had to carry everything which an army might need for a year in a trip 600 miles into enemy territory as it was too large a group to live off the country by hunting game. For meat they carried salted pork, packed in casks; as usual they found some of it spoiled and they found that sometimes the contractor had slipped in a small boulder instead of meat. They had dried peas and parched maize, flour and brandy, cannon for the forts, powder, shot, muskets, blankets, oats for the horses, (they had 45 horses, carried in the bateaux), medical supplies (very few as there was only one surgeon) and all the miscellaneous materiel which might be needed by 2200 men in the wilderness.

The back-breaking toil of carrying all the many tons of this equipment for eleven miles over the Niagara escarpment can be imagined. The light birchbark canoes were carried across, but the heavy bateaux were not; new ones were built to replace them at the upper end of the portage.

Governor Duquesne, at Montreal, considered this expedition to be the most important project of his administration. He followed every move with great care; he was profuse in his continual advice to the Commanders of the various detachments. There was no regular government mail service in those days; his letters were carried by "express canoe." This was a light birchbark canoe, a "canot du nord," manned

by four paddlers. They travelled with incredible rapidity—100 miles a day was not unusual, depending on the weather and the current. For these men, the day began at three o'clock, or even earlier if necessary; they paddled at forty strokes per minute until seven when a halt was made for hot tea and breakfast. An hour later they pressed on, continuing until noon, when a two-hour halt was made for dinner and rest; then on again until dark, when camp was made and they could curl up on the ground, preferably on the lee side of a big fire. Men in those days lived by their muscles and their endurance; there were no weaklings.

The advance detachment of 250 men under Boishébert left Montreal on the first of February, 1753 and during the next two months sections of the main army left at intervals. Boishébert's instructions were to make the portage at Niagara and push on to the Rivière aux Pommes where was the portage to the Chatacouin (Lake Chautauqua). He arrived there April fifteenth and the next day an express canoe brought to him a letter from Governor Duquesne which changed his orders. "A famous voyageur", the letter read, "who has made seven trips to La Belle Rivière and who is said to be a trustworthy man, has pictured for me all the risks he foresaw in the Chatacouin (Chautauqua) portage. The approach to it, he says, is very, very risky, especially for boats loaded as much as ours will be. They can not be dragged up on shore like a bark canoe when wind and waves are beating high on a shore bordered with rocks, where there are reefs and no shelter. On the map which this voyageur made from memory and gave me, I immediately chose the harbor marked H, which you will notice is thirteen leagues west of Chatacouin and which is formed by a peninsula that makes a secure refuge in all sorts of weather.

"In addition to the safety which such a good post will give us, it is the place, so I have been assured, where there is the best hunting, fishing, fertile land, immense meadows to feed and raise cattle, where Indian corn grows with unequalled abundance so that it need only to be sown.

"Consequently I have decided to send an order to Sieur de Boishébert to land at this harbor, and to have the first fort built near the bank on a small elevation . . ."

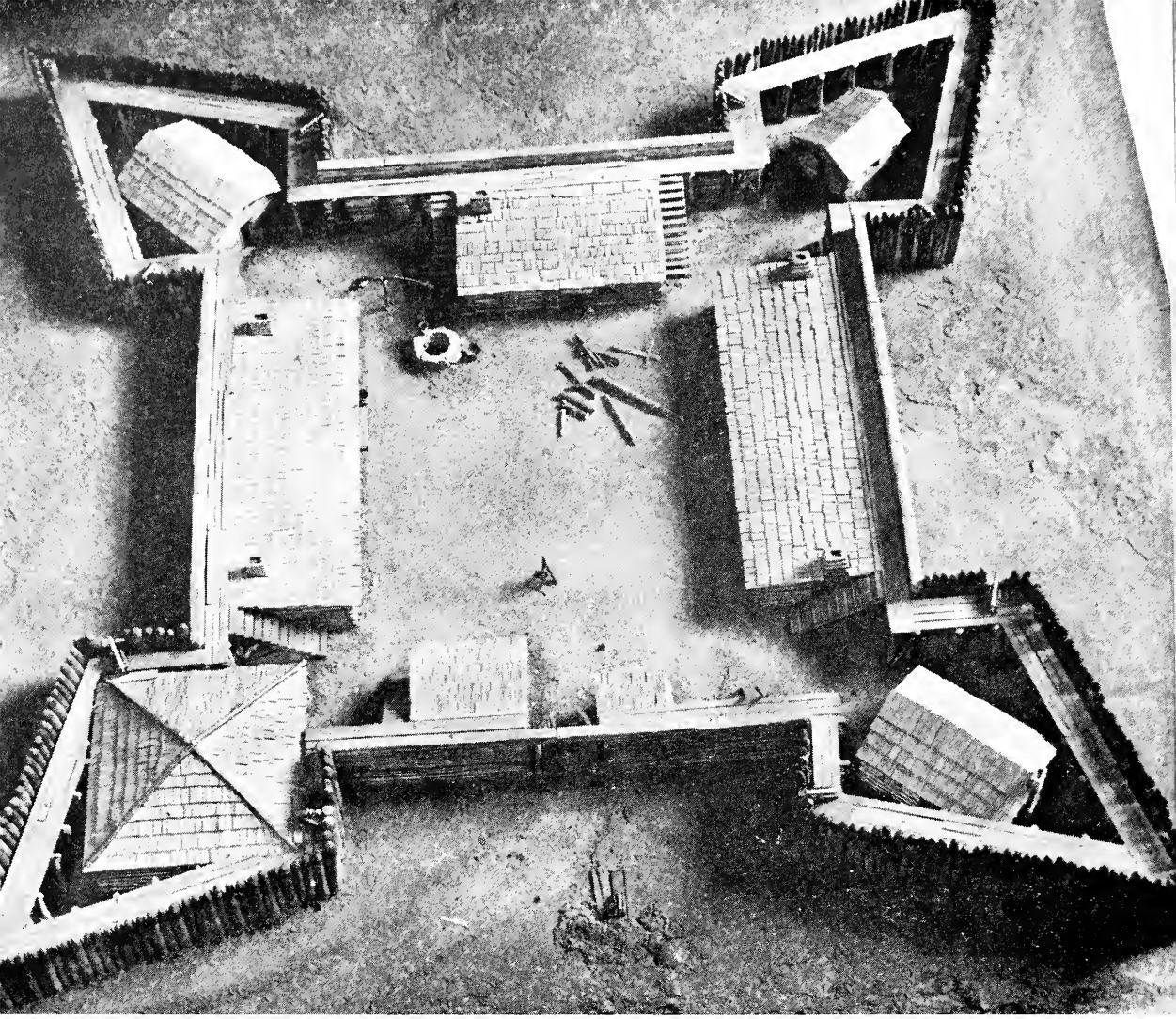
This is the first official recognition of Erie County and Presqu' Isle; the "Famous Voyageur" is unnamed; it could not have been a military man, or the Governor would have named him; it could not have

been a Jesuit missionary, because they always made complete records, called the "Jesuit Relations", for the information of their superiors, the glory of their souls, and the edification of posterity. It could only have been a wandering trader, one of the many who percolated everywhere through the wilderness with axe, gun and a canoe filled with trade goods which he exchanged for raw furs. The first Erie Booster.

Boishébert immediately moved on to Presqu' Isle and arrived there about the third of May, 1753. Thus, officially Erie County came into existence. The rest of the army followed and within a month the entire expedition was there, hard at work building the fort and laying out a path for the portage to Lake Le Boeuf (Waterford). By August third, after three months' work, Sieur de Marin reported to the Governor that the fort at Presqu' Isle was completed, being built of chestnut logs, squared, to a height of fifteen feet; that the fort at Le Boeuf, made of chestnut stakes driven into the ground upright to a height of twelve feet, was nearly finished; that a storage shed halfway between had been built; and that the "road" was completed. This is an astounding accomplishment by men working in the heat of summer, living on salt pork, using only hand tools,—axe, shovel and hoe. They were driven ruthlessly. As the result will show, perhaps they were driven too hard.

The "road" must not be considered in reference to modern highway construction. It was not a road in the modern sense. It was merely a cleared path where a man with a ninety-pound pack on his back, or a horse with 400 pounds could manage to travel. Naturally the chosen route would be as level as possible to make carrying easier. But in avoiding the hills, the path went through the soggy land now called Le Boeuf Swamp, where one hundred years later the railroad also had so much difficulty in finding a firm road bed. (Chapter 16). The horses were often mired to their bellies; the loaded men sank to their knees. It was too hard work. The men, improperly nourished, could not stand it; sickness came. There was almost no medical service. Vitamins had not yet been discovered. The men, overworked and poorly fed, succumbed. Their illness was called malaria and was attributed to the damp air of the swamp.

The work was pushed ruthlessly, even though the number of sick became more than 500 men. The illness became an epidemic until, in early October, Péan reported that only 800 were fit for service. The Commander himself became seriously ill; the whole expedition was discouraged. In addition to these troubles there was a serious drought



■ **FORT LE BOEUF**

An accurate scale model, showing the construction and the methods of defence.

and the stream now named Le Boeuf Creek which flows from Lake Le Boeuf to French Creek was almost dry; the water was too low to float a pirogue. It was impossible to advance. Therefore the Commander, Sieur de Marin, with the greatest reluctance made the decision in early October that nothing more could be done, that he would be unable to advance the expedition to build a third fort on La Belle Riviere. About the fifteenth of October he gave the order for the main army to return to Montreal, leaving detachments at Fort Le Boeuf and Fort Presqu' Isle for the winter.

We cannot blame Sieur de Marin for this decision, considering all the apparent circumstances and difficulties. He was ill—he died on the twenty-ninth—and he did not know that October is always the time of low water, and that high water comes in November and December. In fact, just two weeks after the army left Captain Joncaire was able to take several boats down the river to the abandoned cabins of the English trader, John Frazer, and there at Venango set up an advance post, named Fort Machault. In January he was able to take a small group all the way down the river to the Forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh). The decision may not have been unwise, but it was certainly an unfortunate one for the French cause, and the man who made it, Pierre Paul de la Malgue, Sieur de Marin, lies in an unmarked grave in the unknown burying ground of Fort Le Boeuf.

The army returned for the winter to Montreal, to make preparations for the spring campaign. In those days armies always vacationed in the winter. But the forts were not abandoned, nor were the purposes of the expedition forgotten. Captain Joncaire with five men held Venango, Captain Repentigny with about 20 men garrisoned Fort Le Boeuf, and at Presqu' Isle Sieur Legardeur de Saint Pierre commanded about 30 men.

But—where were the English?

5

GEORGE WASHINGTON VISITS ERIE COUNTY

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■ ■ ■ English traders also penetrated the wilderness, but their approach was different from that of the French. They could not travel by canoe. Because of the steepness of the mountains they had to carry their trade goods by packhorse, a slower and more tedious method. They did not get as far to the west as did the French and few of them saw the Mississippi, but they did cross the mountains and did report on the wealth of the lands there. These reports were known by everyone in Virginia, and for the purpose of developing that region a company called the Ohio Company was formed by the leading businessmen of that Province and several London merchants. Augustus and Lawrence Washington, half-brothers of George Washington, were shareholders, as was the acting Governor Robert Dinwiddie. Through the influence of the Governor, the King granted to this Company 500,000 acres of land, without down payment and without interest for ten years. The exact location of these lands was not specified, but they were to be somewhere on the other side of the Endless Mountains and near the banks of La Belle Rivière, which the English called the Ohio River. Christopher Gist was sent to find them, with the tacit assumption that he would pick out the best. There were then no maps of this region. The Royal Charter which had established Virginia had granted to it all the lands and territory as far as "the South Sea to the west, including California." Therefore the lands of the Ohio were assumed to belong to Virginia.

Gist had been a trader for a number of years. He had built a small farm or trading post up in the mountains far beyond the limits of settlement; he spoke several Indian dialects; he had even been adopted into the membership of one tribe; he was reliable and trustworthy. More than that, he was educated, which meant that he could read and write. In this exploration trip for the Ohio Company, Gist travelled out to the "Forks of the Ohio" (now Pittsburgh) and then went down the Ohio River as far as the "Falls of the Ohio" (now Louisville). On his return, his report to the Governor and the Company brought definite knowledge of the wealth and fertility of this country beyond the mountains. He told them enthusiastically about the "black bottom land" where the soil was dark and rich, the fields were level and well-watered, and there were meadows and grass for cattle, - a lush, rich country.

The Governors of the thirteen English colonies kept in touch with each other, more or less, by correspondence. From Albany, Governor Dinwiddie received information that the French were preparing a large military expedition to occupy and claim all the territory along the Great Lakes and the Ohio River down to the mouth of the Mississippi River, where the French colony of Louisiana flourished[1]. This is the expedition under Sieur de Marin, described in the previous chapter.

North of Virginia there was a "wilderness curtain" through which no news travelled, and Governor Dinwiddie resolved to find out if there were any truth in the tale and, if there were, to order the French to get out. Accordingly, in the early summer of 1753 he summoned Major William Russell, gave him a letter of warning to be delivered to any French officer he should find and instructed him to learn what was going on.

The Major tried. He crossed the mountains and reached the Forks of the Ohio. He visited Logstown (30 miles farther) where Tanacharison, the Indian "Half King" lived. This title indicates that he was superior to ordinary chiefs, but was subject to the orders of the Seneca (Iroquois) Council; a local king. Apparently the Major did not make friends with the Half King, who may or may not have known where the French then were. He spent several weeks wandering around in what is now southern Ohio, learning nothing and at last, late in October, he returned to Williamsburg. He reported to the Governor that there were no traces of the French.

1 The present Ohio and Allegheny Rivers were called by the French La Belle Rivière; the English called them the Ohio.

But the Governor knew otherwise. He had received several letters from Albany and from New York, which was the only line of communication with Montreal, stating that the French definitely were on their way to the Ohio and to the southwest with the intent to encircle the English colonies. This, incidentally, would capture the 500,000 acres of the Ohio Company.

The Governor and his Council debated the matter at length. Surely the Major's report was incorrect. Something must be done. Finally one of the Council said, "Governor, I have the solution; send a warning letter to the French by Christopher Gist. He is just back from an exploration for the Ohio Company, he knows the country and the Indians; he is a dependable man."

The suggestion pleased the Governor, but there was one very serious objection to the use of Gist. Any formal letter, such as this would be, was considered an official communication from the King of England through his deputies, to the King of France, or his deputies. As such it could be carried and presented only by one who was an Officer and a Gentleman. Gist was neither. The Council debated the matter for another day.

The next morning, Augustus Washington spoke to the Governor. "Sir", he said, "Why don't you send my brother George? He's a bright lad, he is a surveyor and can handle a compass; he spent last summer up in the mountains surveying for Lord Fairfax; I think he'd like to go. Send him with Gist."

The Governor, at his wit's end for a solution, jumped at the plan. George was only 21 years old, but he was a gentleman and he could be commissioned an officer in a few moments. He sent for George.

"George, will you deliver a letter from me to an officer of the French? I don't know where they are."

"Yes, Sir."

"It's very late in the season. How soon can you start?"

"This afternoon, Sir."

He did.

Five weeks later, in a typical December storm of half rain and half sleet, Captain Joncaire and his garrison of five men at Venango were amazed to see, coming toward them through the murk, a file of seven white men and four Indians. It was led by Major George Washington, of His Majesty's Volunteer Forces of Virginia.

The weather was so bad that they stayed there for two days

and three nights. Joncaire refused to accept the letter of the Governor, but he agreed to send an escort with the Virginians to Fort Le Boeuf to meet his commanding officer, Legardeur de Saint-Pierre. In the meantime they offered the Virginians what hospitality they had, which was not much. It included plenty of brandy with their dinner, and George very wisely did more listening than talking. His report states, "The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, gave license to the tongues . . . . . It was their absolute Design to take Possession of the Ohio, and by G - - they would do it . . . ." This was exactly the information which the Governor had sent him to obtain.

The whole party arrived at Fort Le Boeuf at sunset on December 11, 1753. It took them four long days of hard travelling to traverse this route of 54 miles, owing to "Rains, Snows, and bad Travelling, through many Mires and Swamps."

The fort and buildings were described by Washington as follows:

"Four houses compose the sides. The Bastions are made of Piles driven into the Ground, standing more than 12 Feet above it, and sharp at Top: With Port Holes cut for Cannon and Loop Holes for the small Arms to fire through. There are eight 6 lb. Pieces mounted, in each Bastion; and one Piece of four Pound before the Gate. In the Bastions are a Guard House, Chapel, Doctor's Lodging, and the Commander's private Store; Round which are laid Plat Forms for the Cannon and Men to stand on."

For five days Washington and Gist were the guests of the French officers, who were glad to see new faces and to meet one who was also an officer and a gentleman. They liked George, and said so in their letter of reply to the Governor. They accepted the Governor's letter and sent back the answer which was to be expected, that they had their orders from His Christian Majesty the King of France who was the rightful owner of all the territory on La Belle Rivière, and that was that.

But the important point was that the summons had actually been delivered. In a duel, the first move is to present your card to your opponent. In war, the first move is to send an official threat, in writing, via an officer and a gentleman. Now that this had been done, the conventions had been followed and the Governor of Virginia could properly begin military opposition.

Washington and Gist set out on the return journey on the 16th

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Major George Washington, of His Majesty's Volunteer Forces of Virginia.

of December, travelling as far as Venango by boat, as French Creek[2] was now at high water. Several boatloads of supplies for the French garrison went with them and George was quietly amused to see one of the boats wrecked with the loss of all their brandy. From Venango he and Gist went alone, on foot, and reached Williamsburg on January 16, 1754.

On this journey George Washington showed all the qualities which marked him as a leader of men. He had the wonderful ability to be friendly with everyone, and to get men to cooperate with him. Christopher Gist worshipped him and followed him as aide and guide in both campaigns out to Fort Duquesne in the next two years. Tanacharison the "Half King", who had refused to cooperate with Major Russell (the first messenger from Governor Dinwiddie) found Washington so friendly that he not only divulged all the information which he had, but

2 French Creek was probably named by Washington. The French called it Venango River.

he even walked the hundred miles to Fort Le Boeuf with him. The French officers, in their letter of reply, made a point of mentioning their very high regard for him. Though only twenty-one, he was a born leader of men.

In the lives of great men it is always interesting to study what event, what minor happening it was which turned them from the ordinary path of mediocrity and into the path which led to greater opportunities. In the life of George Washington it was this trip through the wilderness to Fort Le Boeuf, in December, which marked him as a leader, as a man who could carry responsibility. He wrote a report which is a wonderful example of brevity, of interest and of keen observation. Though only twenty-one, he showed himself to be a man who was worthy of trust. His mission was accomplished successfully, in enemy country, under conditions of great personal danger through almost impassible travelling conditions. Furthermore, as an educated man he was able to portray what he observed and experienced, in a written report.

The Governor was pleased. He had the report printed and it was circulated throughout the Thirteen Colonies. It was also printed and circulated in England. From this time on, George Washington was a marked man and twenty-two years later, at the age of forty-three, the people called him to lead their armies in the war for American independence.

6

THE ENGLISH ARRIVE

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■ ■ ■ Within a few days after receiving the full report from George Washington, Acting Governor Robert Dinwiddie with the advice of his Council ordered a small detachment of troops to proceed to the Forks of the Ohio, though it was in the dead of winter, and there to build a fort, as Washington had recommended. This was an advance force consisting of thirty-two soldiers and eight laborers under the command of Captain William Trent and Ensign Edward Ward. A larger force was levied (drafted) and gradually assembled, which would follow when the spring weather arrived.

The British now knew what the French had known for years, that a fort at this point could control all traffic and trade of the interior of the continent, from Canada to Louisiana. The natural flow of trade could not easily cross the Endless Mountains. It must make its way via the rivers and lakes. The level waterways were the only natural paths for commerce.

But the French had known it first. The Commandant at Fort Presqu' Isle at this time was Claude Pierre Pecaudy de Contrecoeur. In early spring, when the creeks were at high water, he took a force of 200 men down the river in bateaux to the Forks of the Ohio, approached the tiny group of Englishmen and demanded their immediate surrender within one hour. Captain Trent had gone back to Virginia for supplies. Ensign Ward was in command. It was impossible to fight such a force. He surrendered; he could do nothing else. The terms of

surrender were merely that he take his men back to Virginia. This was April 16, 1754, only four months after George Washington had been there. As a result the country remained in the hands of the French and during the summer months they constructed a large fort at this point, naming it Fort Duquesne in honor of the Governor of Canada.

When Captain Trent's English force had returned as far as the eastern side of the mountains, they met the small army which the Governor had sent for the purpose of occupying the fort at the Forks of the Ohio which Trent had tried to build. This force consisted of 300 men under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel George Washington. Christopher Gist was his aide. They were advancing as fast as was possible, considering that they had to carry all their supplies and armament on pack horses up and over the rough mountains where there was only a footpath at most. George Washington's friend, the Half-King Tanacharison, came to meet them and from him they learned that the French had built Fort Duquesne and manned it with several hundred men. On one rainy evening in May, the Indians reported that there was a small French patrol of 50 men encamped only a few miles away. Without hesitation, Washington himself with a few men and Indians made a long night march of a dozen miles across the mountains in the pouring rain, surprised the French as they slept about their campfires and killed most of them at the first volley. Only fifteen of them escaped, to return to Fort Duquesne and report to Contrecoeur where the English were.

Washington, now knowing that he had been discovered and had lost the element of surprise, stopped long enough to build a small stockaded fort to be used as a base for his futher operations. He named it Fort Necessity. Just before it was completed a force of 500 French, Canadians and Indians appeared suddenly in the surrounding woods and opened fire on the fort and the men who were building it. The attack was a complete surprise. After an all-day battle, in the pouring rain, with much of the powder wet and many of the men drunk, Washington had to surrender to the superior strength of the French. That was on July Fourth, 1754. The terms of surrender, written in French which Washington could not read, were that the English were to return to Virginia and keep away from French territory. They were to remain confined to the colonies along the seacoast. The French were to possess the interior of the continent. La Belle Rivière would be exclusively French.

At this time, all Europe was in a state of tension. The Seven

Years' War was on the verge of beginning. All the powers of Europe, large and small, were involved. On one side were Austria, Russia, France, Sweden and Saxony; they were opposed by Prussia, Great Britain and Spain. Under these political conditions it was unthinkable for Great Britain to be defeated by France, even far out in the wilderness of western Pennsylvania. The Prime Minister wrote to Governor Dinwiddie instructing him that the French must be expelled.

Governor Dinwiddie was a stubborn Scotsman, who did not give up easily. He realized that this would be a task for the British Army Regulars, not one for unreliable colonial troops who had been drafted or levied, and who frequently never received their pay. It was for the British Regulars to assert the supremacy of British strength. Therefore, two regiments of Regulars came from England under the command of General Edward Braddock, a Scot who had entered the army at the age of 15 and had 44 years of service. With 2000 men, with Lieutenant Colonel George Washington as his aide and with Christopher Gist as guide, he set out confidently to expel the French. Nothing was expected to obstruct the might of the British Regulars.

This army with many tons of equipment carried in wagons advanced slowly, cutting a rough road as it went. While crossing the Monongahela River, only 40 miles from Fort Duquesne, they were ambushed by a smaller force of Canadians and Indians. It was rather a slaughter than a battle. The British Regulars fought as they had fought in Europe, standing shoulder to shoulder in solid ranks; the French fought in the style of the American Indian, taking shelter behind trees and boulders. Although the Regulars were brave men who were veterans of battles in Europe, here they did not have a chance. The enemy's fire poured into their massed ranks from the hidden marksmen. So many fell that the few survivors broke and ran. General Braddock himself was severely wounded; he was taken away in a baggage cart and died two days later.[1]

The expedition had an immense pile of baggage and equipment which was abandoned to the enemy. This turned out to be a fortunate act, because the Indians and Canadians were so intent on obtaining this plunder that they did not attempt any pursuit. The surviving British got back safely to Virginia.

For the next three years the French strengthened their hold on this territory. They occupied it solely by military force. They did not

1 Possibly shot by one of his own men.

attempt to bring in settlers to establish farms; in this respect they differed from the English, as the Indians realized. The French wanted only the Indian fur trade.

Col. Francis Fauquier succeeded Dinwiddie as Acting Governor in 1758. The Virginia House of Burgesses resolved to do its share in the war against France by driving the French out of the territory which they considered to be a part of Virginia. A force of 3000 men, half of them British Regulars and the rest Virginia levies, under Brigadier Gen. John Forbes and Col. Henry Bouquet advanced slowly toward the Forks of the Ohio and Fort Duquesne. George Washington was one of the General's aides, as was Christopher Gist[2]. With an immense train of baggage, cutting a new road over the mountains as they went, watching carefully against another ambush, they advanced slowly but relentlessly. When they were within fifteen miles of the Fort, the French set fire to it and retreated up the river to Fort Le Boeuf and Fort Presqu' Isle.

The following year was the year of decision. An English army under Sir William Johnson captured Fort Niagara. Then Fort Le Boeuf, Fort Presqu' Isle and Fort Machault (at Venango) were abandoned and burned by the French, rebuilt and occupied by the British. Finally General James Wolfe defeated the French forces under Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm at the Heights of Abraham, Quebec. This war was over.

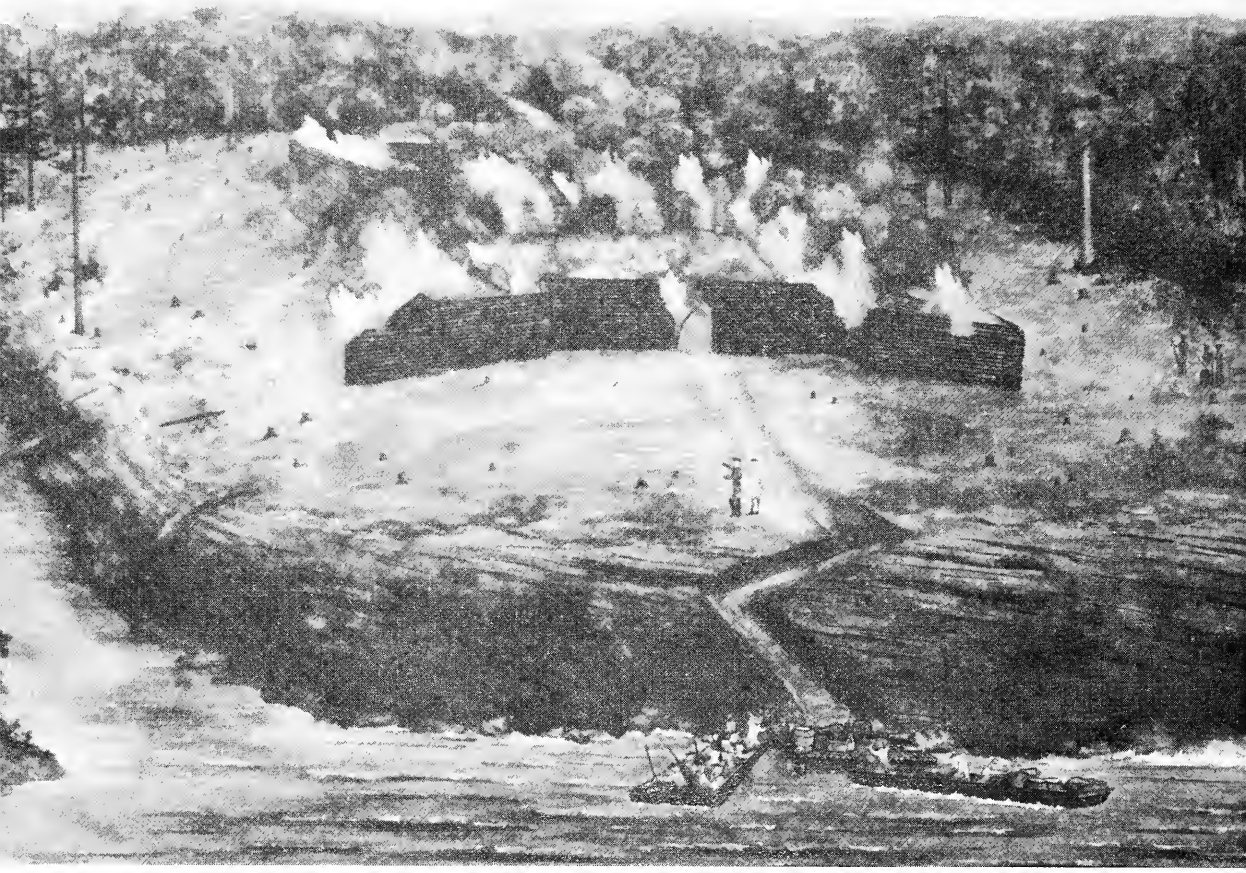
This war has been named the French and Indian War because the French used Indians as allies. Only the Iroquois favored the English. The Hurons and Algonquins fought on the side of the French. In Europe it is considered merely a minor part of the so-called Seven Years' War. By the Peace of Paris, signed in 1763, the French ceded to the British all their territory in the continent of North America. La Belle Rivière was no longer a French highway.

The British have always been able and just administrators of their colonies. After the French were defeated and their lands ceded, the British Cabinet for many weeks discussed the rights of the Indians, of the French colonists and of the English settlers. They reached a solution which, had it been possible to make it effective, might have averted the loss of many thousands of lives. In 1763 Lord Grenville, in the name of King George III, issued a formal proclamation which forbade any

2 Gist died of smallpox the follawing year, while serving as Indian Agent to the Southern Indians. One of his descendants was democratic candidate for Vice President in 1872; another was a Confederate Brigadier General; another was Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General in President Lincoln's Cabinet, who built the Blair House across the street from the White House in Washington.

settlements to be made south of the Great Lakes, and west of the summit of the Allegheny Mountains. All the territory beyond the mountains, as far west as the Mississippi River, was to be reserved forever for the Indians, for their villages and their hunting grounds.

But: did this satisfy either the Colonists or the Indians?



■ **BURNING OF FORT PRESQU' ISLE**

Fort Presqu' Isle was abandoned and burned by the French in 1759

7

THE CONSPIRACY OF CHIEF PONTIAC 1763

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■ ■ ■ The Indian tribes of the eastern half of the North American continent, with one exception, disliked the English and preferred the French.

The English settlers wanted to possess land, good fertile land upon which they could build their homes and farms. Land then was almost the only form of wealth; there was very little money in circulation. As the years passed and the number of immigrants continued to pour into the east coast from England and other European countries, the settlers moved farther and farther inland, following up the fertile valleys until they were stopped by the mountains; they established everywhere permanent homesteads and farms. The game, upon which the Indian depended for his existence, was frightened away. Furthermore, the settlers seemed to feel that they had a God-given right to enter and to exploit this land for their own benefit and that of their children, and that the Indians were an inferior race which of right ought to be dispossessed.

On the other hand, the attitude of the French was altogether different. They treated the Indians as brothers, and called them so. They intermarried freely. Thousands of Frenchmen, call Voyageurs, lived with the Indians and adopted Indian manners, clothing and even religion,—roaming the woods, hunting, trapping, marrying and raising families. The settlements of the French were always close to the trad-

ing posts upon the rivers, the highways of the continent. The farms were few; there was not the pressure of incoming groups such as the English colonies felt.

There was one exception. The tribes of the Six Nations, called by the French the Iroquois, were always friendly to the English. Their distrust of the French originated as early as 1609 when Samuel de Champlain was making his third voyage of discovery into Canada. At that time there were only two small English colonies in America, one in Virginia (Jamestown) and one in Maine.

In order to impress the Indians with his power and without realizing what would be the consequences, Champlain joined with a tribe of the Algonquins in an attack against their hereditary enemies, the Iroquois. On a spring morning of May, somewhere near the lake which now bears his name, the two bodies of warriors met for battle. Champlain with two soldiers was concealed in the crowd of the Algonquins; just as they were about to rush at each other, the crowd opened and Champlain and his men suddenly fired their guns at the Iroquois. Never before had these Indians heard gunfire; they believed it to be supernatural, thunder and lightning from heaven. Two of the leading chiefs were killed. The rest fled to escape this lightning of the gods which was fighting for the Algonquins. For the next two hundred years, this defeat was not forgotten nor forgiven by the Iroquois, and had a far-reaching effect upon the future course of American history.

But with the exception of the Iroquois, the Indians preferred the French. There is the story of one Indian who lived about 1755 on the Susquehanna River near the town which is now called "Shamokin." He travelled about, visiting both Philadelphia and Fort Duquesne; at the latter place he became friendly with an Englishman named Robert Stobo who was being held as a hostage. He said to Stobo, "The English are fools; see here what the (French) Governor has given to me," and he displayed a coat and hat replete with silver lace, a blanket, shirts, ribbons, a new gun and ammunition. "I was in Philadelphia, and no one gave me even a farthing."

Now, in 1763, the French had given up Canada to the English. Red-coated soldiers occupied all the former French forts, including Fort Presqu' Isle and Fort Le Boeuf. The Indians did not like it. Everywhere they were disaffected. They listened attentively to the fervid rantings of an Abenake Indian who was called "The Prophet", a man who had a stentorian voice and fervid eloquence. He preached the friendliness of

the French and the grasping greed of the English. The Indians heard him gladly.

One of those who listened was Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawa nation, fifty years old, a born leader of men, a persuasive orator, a man whose merit was known and respected among all the tribes of eastern North America. He possessed commanding energy and force of mind, combined with the subtlety and wily craft of his race. In ability he ranks with the greatest kings and generals of Europe, an Indian Julius Caesar. When he said to a French Officer, "We own this land; you have given it to the English without our permission," he reflected the pride and nobility of his race.

The power of this man may be judged by the fact that without a written language, without a government, without roads or communications other than a birch canoe, with no authority other than his own forceful personality, he was able to combine all the Indian nations east of the Mississippi River in a unified attack against the English settlements. The Indian tribes were eager to hear him and his words fell upon receptive ears. He sent embassies everywhere, even as far as New Orleans, carrying the war belt of black wampum. A Shawnee Chief, one of Pontiac's ambassadors, addressed a French officer there in these words: "The red dogs," he said, referring to the color of the English uniforms, "have crowded upon us more and more; but when we ask them by what right they come, they tell us that you, our French fathers, have given them our lands. We know that they lie. These lands are neither yours nor theirs, and no man shall give or sell them without our consent. Fathers, we have always been your faithful children; and now we have come to ask that you give us guns, powder and lead, and aid us in this war."

Pontiac was convinced that the Great French King across the ocean wanted to drive out the English and that he would help the Indians to repossess their land. He expected a large army of French soldiers to come to his assistance. He thought he would receive from the French powder and guns for all his needs. Even to the very end of the war he confidently looked for the arrival of French troops. He did not understand that the great French King considered America merely an unimportant colony, not worth bothering about.

The only Indian nations in the East which refused to join in the Conspiracy which Pontiac was arranging, were five of the six (Iroquois) Nations,—the Onondaga, the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Tuscarora

(who had joined the Confederacy only fifty years before, in 1715) and the Cayuga nations. Their neutral attitude was in large part due to the influence of Sir William Johnson, the Indian commissioner for the English, who had married a sister of Chief Joseph Brant of the Mohawks.

The only one of the Six Nations (Iroquois) to be sympathetic towards Pontiac was the Seneca Nation. The warriors who destroyed the two forts in Erie County were Seneca warriors.

Pontiac called a large council of all the tribes, to meet at the River Ecorces, near Fort Detroit. Here the Hurons, the Ojibways, the Illinois, the Wyandots, the Senecas, the Ottawas, and the Algonquins met in friendship as allies and definite plans were made for a concerted attack upon all English settlements. Messengers were sent to the tribes, even as far west as the Mississippi and down to its mouth in Louisiana, carrying the war belt of black wampum and urging the destruction of every English settlement.

It is further proof of Pontiac's greatness that without a calendar, without writing and without a common language, he was able to carry out his plans with such exactitude and efficiency. The English forts were attacked everywhere throughout the land at almost the same time, as shown by the following list:

May 9 1763	Fort Detroit
May 16	Fort Sandusky
May 25	Fort St. Joseph
May 27	Fort Miami
May 28	Fort Pitt
June 1	Fort Outanon
June 2	Fort Michilimackinac
June 15	Fort Presqu' Isle
June 16	Fort Venango
June 18	Fort Le Boeuf

At about the same time Forts Bedford, Ligonier, Carlisle, and Augusta—all in western Pennsylvania—were attacked.

The destruction of Fort Presqu' Isle and of Fort Le Boeuf, commanded respectively by Ensign Christie and Ensign Price, are described by Francis Parkman in his "The Conspiracy of Pontiac" as follows:

"Fort Presqu' Isle stood on the southern shore of Lake Erie, at the site of the present town of Erie. It was an important post as it controlled the communication between the lake and Fort Pitt; but the blockhouse was supposed to make it impregnable against Indians. This

blockhouse, a very large and strong one, was only one corner of the fort and was built of massive logs, with the projecting upper story usual in such structures, by means of which a vertical fire could be had upon the heads of assailants through openings in the projecting part of the floor, like the machicoulis of a mediaeval castle. It had also a kind of bastion, from which one or more of its walls could be covered by a flank fire. The roof was of shingles, and might easily be set on fire; but at the top was a sentry-box or look-out from which water could be thrown. On one side was the lake and on the other a small stream which entered it, now called Mill Creek. Unfortunately, the bank of this stream rose in a high steep ridge within forty yards of the blockhouse, thus affording a cover to assailants, while the bank of the lake offered them similar advantages on another side.[1]

"The Commanding Officer, Ensign Christie, whose garrison now consisted of twenty-seven men, prepared for a stubborn defense. The doors of the blockhouse and the sentry-box at the top were lined to make them bullet-proof; the angles of the roof were covered with green turf as a protection against fire-arrows and gutters of bark were laid in such a manner that streams of water could be sent to every part. His expectation of a 'visit from the hell-hounds' proved to be perfectly well founded. About two hundred of them had left Detroit expressly for this object. At early dawn on the fifteenth of June they were first discovered stealthily crossing the mouth of the little stream where the bateaux were drawn up, and crawling under cover of the banks of the lake and of the adjacent saw-pits. When the sun rose they showed themselves and began their customary yelling. Christie, with a very unnecessary reluctance to begin the fray, ordered his men not to fire till the Indians had set the example. The consequence was that they were close to the blockhouse before they received the fire of the garrison and many of them sprang into the ditch whence, being well sheltered, they fired at the loopholes and amused themselves by throwing stones and handfuls of gravel or, what was more to the purpose, fire-balls of pitch. Some got into the fort and sheltered themselves behind the bakery and other buildings, whence they kept up a brisk fire; while others pulled down a small outhouse of plank, of which they made a movable breastwork and approached under cover of it by pushing it before them. At the same time great numbers of them lay close behind the ridges by the stream, keeping up a rattling fire into every loophole and

1 The fort was situated beside the very mouth of Mill Creek, to protect the landing place of bateaux.

shooting burning arrows against the roof and sides of the blockhouse. Some were extinguished with water, while many dropped out harmless after burning a small hole. The Indians now rolled logs to the top of the ridges, where they made three strong breastworks, from behind which they could discharge their shot and throw their fireworks with greater effect. Sometimes they would try to dart across the intervening space and shelter themselves with their companions in the ditch, but all who attempted it were killed or wounded. And now the hard-beset little garrison could see them throwing up earth and stones behind the nearest breastwork. Their implacable foes were undermining the blockhouse. There was little time to reflect on this new danger for another, more imminent, soon threatened them. The barrels of water, always kept in the building, were nearly emptied in extinguishing the frequent fires and though there was a well close at hand, in the parade ground, it was death to approach it. The only resource was to dig a subterranean passage to it. The floor was torn up and while some of the men fired their heated muskets from the loopholes, the rest labored stoutly at this cheerless task. Before it was half finished, the roof was on fire again, and all the water that remained was poured down to extinguish it. In a few moments the cry of fire was again raised when a soldier, at imminent risk of his life, tore off the burning shingles and averted the danger.

"By this time it was evening. The garrison had had not a moment's rest since the sun rose. Darkness brought little relief, for guns flashed all night from the Indian intrenchments. In the morning however there was a respite. The Indians were ominously quiet, being employed, it seems, in pushing their subterranean approaches and preparing fresh means for firing the blockhouse. In the afternoon the attack began again. They set fire to the house of the commanding officer, which stood close at hand and which they had reached by means of their trenches. The pine logs blazed fiercely and the wind blew the flame against the bastion of the blockhouse which scorched, blackened and at last took fire; but the garrison had by this time dug a passage to the well[2] and, half-stifled as they were, they plied their water-buckets with such goodwill that the fire was subdued, while the blazing house soon sank to a glowing pile of embers. The men, who had behaved throughout with great spirit were now, in the words of their officer 'exhausted to the greatest extremity;' yet they still kept up their forlorn de-

2 It was probably a new well dug in the floor of the blockhouse. Water would be found at a depth of three feet.

fence, toiling and fighting without pause within the wooden walls of their dim prison where the close and heated air was thick with the smoke of gunpowder. The firing on both sides lasted through the rest of the day and did not cease till midnight at which hour a voice was heard to call out, in French, from the enemy's intrenchments, warning the garrison that further resistance would be useless since preparations were made for setting the blockhouse on fire, above and below at once. Christie demanded if there were any among them who spoke English; upon which, a man in the Indian dress came out from behind the breastwork. He was a former English soldier who, having been made prisoner early in the French war, had since lived among the savages and now espoused their cause, fighting with them against his own countrymen. He said that if they yielded their lives should be spared; but if they fought longer, they must all be burned alive. Christie told them to wait till morning for his answer. They assented and suspended their fire. Christie now asked his men, if we may believe the testimony of two of them, 'whether they chose to give up the blockhouse, or remain in it and be burned alive?' They replied that they would stay as long as they could bear the heat and then fight their way through. A third witness, Edward Smyth, apparently a corporal, testifies that all but two of them were for holding out. He says that when his opinion was asked he replied that, having but one life to lose, he would be governed by the rest; but that at the same time he reminded them of the recent Indian treachery at Detroit and of the butchery of prisoners at Fort William Henry, adding that, in his belief, they themselves could expect no better usage.

"When morning came Christie sent out two soldiers as if to treat with the enemy but, in reality, as he says, to learn the truth of what they had told him respecting their preparations to burn the blockhouse. On reaching the breastwork the soldiers made a signal by which their officer saw that his worst fears were well-founded. In pursuance of their orders, they then demanded that two of the principal chiefs should meet with Christie midway between the breastwork and the blockhouse. The chiefs appeared accordingly and Christie, going out, yielded up the blockhouse, having first stipulated that the lives of all the garrison should be spared and that they might retire unmolested to the nearest post. The soldiers, pale and haggard like men who had passed through a fiery ordeal, now issued from their scorched and bullet-pierced stronghold. A scene of plunder instantly began. Ben-

jamin Gray, a Scotch soldier who had just been employed, on Christie's order, in carrying presents to the Indians, seeing the confusion and hearing a scream from a sergeant's wife, the only woman in the garrison, sprang off into the woods and succeeded in making his way to Fort Pitt with news of the disaster. It is needless to say that no faith was kept with the rest and they had good cause to be thankful that they were not butchered on the spot. After being detained for some time in the neighborhood, they were carried prisoners to the Indian forces who were then attacking Detroit, where Christie soon after made his escape and gained the fort in safety."[3]

The description of the fate of Fort Le Boeuf from the same authority, follows:

"The available defences of Fort Le Boeuf consisted at the time of a single ill-constructed blockhouse occupied by the ensign with two corporals and eleven privates. They had only about twenty rounds of ammunition each and the powder, moreover, was in a damaged condition. At nine or ten o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth of June a soldier told Ensign Price, the Commanding officer, that he saw Indians approaching from the direction of Presqu' Isle. Price ran to the door and, looking out, saw one of his men, apparently much frightened, shaking hands with five Indians. He held open the door till the man had entered, the five Indians following close after having, in obedience to a sign from Price, left their weapons behind. They declared that they were going to fight the Cherokees, and begged for powder and ball. This being refused, they asked leave to sleep on the ground before the blockhouse. Price assented, on which one of them went off but very soon returned with thirty more, who crowded before the window of the blockhouse and begged for a kettle to cook their food. Price tried to give them one through the window, but the aperture proved too narrow and they grew clamorous that he should open the door again. This he refused. They then went to a neighboring storehouse, pulled out some of the foundation stones and got into the cellar whence, by knocking away one or two planks immediately above the sill of the building, they could fire on the garrison in perfect safety, being below the range of shot from the loopholes of the blockhouse, which was not ten yards distant. Here they remained some hours making their preparations while the garrison waited in suspense, cooped up in their wooden citadel. Towards evening they opened fire and shot such a number of burn-

3 Fort Detroit, then under siege.

ing arrows against the side and roof of the blockhouse that three times it was in flames. But the men worked desperately and each time the fire was extinguished. A fourth time the alarm was given and now the men on the roof came down in despair, crying out that they could not extinguish it and calling on their officer for God's sake to let them leave the building or they should all be burned alive. Price behaved with great spirit. "We must fight as long as we can and then die together," was his answer to the entreaties of his disheartened men. But he could not revive their drooping courage and meanwhile the fire spread beyond all hope of mastering it. They implored him to let them go and at length the brave young officer told them to save themselves if they could. It was time, for they were suffocating in their burning prison. There was a narrow window in the back of the blockhouse through which, with the help of axes, they all got out and, favored by the darkness, for night had closed in, escaped to the neighboring pine-swamp while the Indians, to make assurance doubly sure, were still showering fire-arrows against the front of the blazing building. As the fugitives groped their way in pitchy darkness through the tangled intricacies of the swamp, they saw the sky behind them lurid with flames and heard the reports of the Indians' guns as these painted demons were leaping and yelling in front of the flaming blockhouse, firing into the loopholes and exulting in the thought that their enemies were suffering the agonies of the death within.

"Presqu' Isle was but fifteen miles distant but, from the direction in which his assailants had come, Price rightly judged that it had been captured and therefore resolved to make his way, if possible, to Venango and reinforce Lieutenant Gordon, who commanded there. A soldier named John Dortinger who had been sixteen months at Le Boeuf, thought that he could guide the party, but lost the way in the darkness so that after struggling all night through swamps and forests, they found themselves at daybreak only two miles from their point of departure. Just before dawn, several of the men became separated from the rest. Price and those with him waited for some time whistling, coughing and making such other signals as they dared, to attract their attention, but without success and they were forced to proceed without them. Their only provisions were three biscuits to a man. They pushed on all day and reached Venango at one o'clock of the following night. There nothing remained but piles of smouldering embers among which lay the half-burned bodies of its hapless garrison. They now continued

their journey down the Allegheny. On the third night their last biscuit was consumed, and they were half-dead with hunger and exhaustion before their eyes were gladdened at length by the friendly walls of Fort Pitt. Of those who had straggled from the party, all eventually appeared but two who, spent with starvation, had been left behind and no doubt perished."

■ ■ ■

Along all the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, terror reigned. The woods were full of war parties of hostile Indians. Scalping parties ranged everywhere, laying waste the settlements, destroying the harvests, butchering without mercy men, women and children. The western sky was darkened with the smoke of burning homesteads. Mr. George Croghan, the deputy Indian Commissioner under Sir William Johnson, stated that in four months over 2000 settlers had been massacred, in addition to the soldiers in the nine forts which had been destroyed. The settlers fled to the nearest fort or fortified settlement; all the territory west of the Susquehanna River was abandoned to the war parties of the Indians. Terror,—stark, naked, bald, soul-destroying terror, equal to that inspired by the historic Huns or Vandals or the Tatar hordes of Ghengis Khan, filled the fertile valleys from the Mohawk River to the swamps of Georgia.

The vindictive hatred of the Indians was extended only toward the English and other settlers who joined them, such as the Germans and Irish. The French were not molested; their farms remained immune from attack. Fort Detroit was besieged by the Indians for fifteen months without relief and during all that time the one hundred or more French settlers around the fort lived in peace and cultivated their farms. They of course could not condone the war and surreptitiously they helped the English by smuggling food into the fort and by interceding with the Indians to save the lives of captives.

The English authorities reacted as quickly as was possible. By early August 1763 a force of 500 men—levied in Virginia, not in Pennsylvania—was on its way from Philadelphia to relieve Fort Pitt. In command was Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss professional soldier who had taken service with the English and who for a number of years was stationed at Fort Pitt commanding the forts of western Pennsylvania. The main strength of this force was the Forty-Second regiment of Highlanders, wearing the Scot's uniform, kilts and plaids.

When this force reached Turtle Creek, forty miles east of Fort Pitt, it was ambushed by Indians. A terrific battle ensued which lasted for two days. On the second afternoon, as the men were at the extreme point of exhaustion from weariness, thirst and lack of rest, Colonel Bouquet conceived the idea of a stratagem which turned probable defeat into victory. His men were fighting in a rough circle surrounding their baggage and their wounded. Two companies were ordered to pretend to fall back as if running away, while the companies on either side remained in concealment. The Indians were drawn into this trap and so many were killed that the rest ran off in defeat. This battle cowed the Indians and made them respect the strength of the English.

Colonel Bouquet marched on to the relief of Fort Pitt, which had been under siege for two and one-half months.

In the next year, 1764, the Indian uprising was quelled. An army of 1200 men under Col. John Bradstreet marched from Albany to Detroit, stopping overnight at Fort Presqu' Isle on their way.[4] The Colonel held conferences with the Indian nations and concluded a treaty which brought a precarious peace to the borders. Fort Detroit was relieved, after 15 months of incessant attack. The Indians lost faith in Pontiac's promises. They began to think that the great French Father was not going to help them.

The next step was taken by Colonel Bouquet. An expedition into central Ohio destroyed the towns and crops of the Delaware and Shawnee nations. This blow was fatal, and the Indian federation began to fall apart.

Pontiac then sent embassies out to the tribes of the Illinois who lived beyond the intrusion of the English and who so far had given only some small assistance in the various attacks. He asked them for help. They replied that the French had just ceded to Spain all the lands on the far side of the Mississippi River. This news was the last straw. The unity of the Indians collapsed. Their faith in their French Father evaporated. They now knew that no French army was coming to help them. They submitted, and in the following months treaties of peace were agreed upon by all tribes. At last peace laid its quiet hands upon the blood-soaked valleys beyond the Endless Mountains.

Pontiac himself lived only for a year longer. He was assassinated by one of his trusted followers.

Thus ended one part of the struggle of the Indians to retain their

4 These were the last British to visit Fort Presqu' Isle.

inherited lands, a struggle which started in 1607 and continued until 1898. Colonel Bouquet defeated Pontiac in 1763. General Mad Anthony Wayne defeated Chief Little Turtle in 1794. General William Henry Harrison defeated Tecumseh in 1811. These three campaigns finally brought peace to the five states which were called the Northwest Territory; but the struggle still continued, west of the Mississippi River.[5]

During this war with Pontiac in 1763, the attitude of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania was inexplicable. This governmental body was controlled by a majority of Quakers, men who did not believe in war and who considered the Indian as a friend. They continued to nourish this idea even after the borders had become red with the blood of massacred settlers. They refused to pass legislation which would raise troops for the defense. It was not until late in 1764 that their feeling changed. The Assembly then took action, in a small way: Governor Penn issued a proclamation offering a bounty for Indians, dead or alive:

For prisoners,	men over 10 years	$150	Spanish	Dollars
	women and children	130	"	"
For scalps,	men over 10 years	134	"	"
	women over 10	50	"	"

After the bloodshed of this war, the settlers felt that all the land was rightfully theirs. They returned to it by the thousands, filling all the fertile valleys with homesteads. They ignored Lord Grenville's wise proclamation, which had planned to set aside as an Indian Reserve all the lands between the Allegheny Mountains and the Great Lakes. The Indian was doomed. He could not exist in a land of settled farms.

5 The official date (U. S. Army) for termination of campaigns against the Indians is December 31, 1898.

8

ACROSS THE ENDLESS MOUNTAINS

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■ ■ ■ For thirty-one years after the Fort and Village of Presqu' Isle were burned to the ground by the warriors of Chief Pontiac (Chapter 7), there were no residents in Erie County. The peace of the wilderness enveloped this region. The remains of the cabins moldered away. The days were past when this was the main artery of trade and traffic between Montreal and New Orleans. The French empire in America had ceased to be. There were no settlers, no Indians, no traders. Quietly the forest reclaimed its own.

At the close of the American Revolution in 1783, however, there began a flowing, irresistible tide of settlers eager to obtain the fertile lands of the territory beyond the Endless Mountains. Land was true wealth; people had no securities, no bonds, no paper money, little jewelry, and little coined money. The ambition of every man was to own land, good bottom land which would provide him a farm and a comfortable living,—acres of land, as level as possible, fertile, well-watered, with pasturage for cattle and wood for cabins, fuel and furniture. With his strong back, his axe and a few tools, and his ingenuity a man could carve his own destiny.

The thirteen colonies in 1790 had a population of 3,929,214; ninety-five percent lived on farms. The density of population in Connecticut was 45 per square mile (513 in 1960); in Massachusetts 51 per square mile (650 in 1960); in Rhode Island 69 per square mile (799 in 1960). In Virginia it was 18 (98 in 1960). One-fourth of the people

lived in New England.

New England became crowded. It had received more immigrants than had the southern colonies. Families were large and in consequence farms became smaller. The settlers began to push farther and farther to the west, until they were stopped by the mountains. Tales from travellers were eagerly heard, about the fertile bottom lands across the mountains where plowing was on level ground, the soil was rich and free of stones, where two crops of hay could be cut each summer and the land was free to anyone who had the strength to take it and to use it. Or, if not free, at least it was very cheap. The earliest settlers, arriving before a region was surveyed, owned their land by Squatter's Rights, which means that they got there first. After a region was surveyed it could be bought from the State for an average price of a dollar an acre, or less. Every young man, sweating on his father's stony acres, longed to leave home and pick up a sure fortune in the west.

The usual route to the west from central Massachusetts led east to Boston, then by ship to New York, then up the Hudson River (which was civilized, with good roads and inns) by road or by boat to Albany, and from that city up the valley of the Mohawk River and through the Finger Lake district of central New York. This was an easier route than trying to go straight over the mountains to Albany. It became a much-travelled route and was well equipped with ferries, paths, and farmhouses offering shelter. "Shelter" meant that one could come inside and sleep on the floor, and for a few cents share what food the owner had, if any. Most of the early settlers of Erie County came by this route; they were good New England farmers who wanted more room.

A similar tide of settlers, although smaller, pushed westward from the other eastern states. From Philadelphia they followed the rivers, up the Schuylkill and over to the Susquehanna and the Juniata, north and west, filling the narrow bottom lands with farms. A settler followed the valleys until he had passed the last farm, then he occupied the next desirable location. But the valleys narrowed, the mountains grew steeper and men listened eagerly to the wandering Traders who described the flat lands of the Ohio and the Lake country, where plowing was easy.

From Virginia, the route which was usually followed led up the Potomac River and thus into the mountains along the path which George Washington had taken (Chapter 5), but again the valleys

became too narrow for good farming. To reach the Ohio country and its desirable level lands, the tide of settlers followed the road built in the wilderness by Gen. Braddock in 1754. It ran from Williamsburg (with a branch from Hagerstown, Maryland) to the west as far as Pittsburgh. This was a road, but it cannot be thought of in terms of a modern highway. (It is now route #40.) It was a rough track—a modern truck could not negotiate it; even a caterpillar tractor would have trouble. The trees and the smaller stumps had been removed, and the larger boulders; it was rough riding, but a heavy Conestoga wagon with four horses could cover fifteen miles a day over it. It was the main highway for droves of cattle from the west to the markets of the east. Most of the settlers who followed this road westward went to southern Ohio.

Another route of this west-going tide of emigration led through the Cumberland Gap (Virginia) into what is now Kentucky.

A few settlers reached Erie County by following the military road which originally was built in 1758 by General Forbes' army when it drove the French from Fort Duquesne. They followed this route (it is now Route #30) as far as Pittsburgh, and then went up the Allegheny River and French Creek.

The authorities of the State of Pennsylvania encouraged this flow of immigrants to the lands beyond the mountains by every possible means.

At the close of the American Revolution, by an act of March 12, 1783 the Pennsylvania Legislature directed the laying out of a "Donation District" in the Northwest, to be bounded "by the Allegheny River on the southeast as far up as the mouth of the Conewango; thence by a line due north to the New York line; thence by the northern and western boundaries of the States," and bounded on the south by what was known as the "Depreciation District"[1] which extended up the Beaver River to the mouth of the Mahoning. This Donation District was to be a soldiers' bonus or "Donation" to fulfill the promise of the commonwealth, made on the 7th of March, 1780, "to the officers and privates belonging to this State in the Federal army, certain donations and quantities of land, according to their several ranks, to be surveyed and divided off to them severally, at the end of the war." These lands were surveyed in lots of from 200 to 500 acres each, enough of each kind to

1 The lands of this district were held by the State as security against any depreciation in the paper money issued by the State.

supply the different ranks. A Major General was entitled to draw four tickets, by lottery, for 500 acres each; a Brigadier General, three of the same; and so on down to the drummers, fifers, corporals, and private sentinels, who drew one ticket of 200 acres each. The Donation District was divided into sub-districts, each of which was known by its number.

The Tenth Sub-District was in Erie County. It commenced about a mile east of the borough of Waterford and extended eastward across the present townships of Amity and Wayne to the Warren County line. The road from this district to Erie is still called the Donation Road. It was surveyed on the part of the State in 1785 by David Watts and William Miles, who came on from the East for that purpose, and returned home on the completion of their labors. In laying out the district they made several unfortunate errors, among others running their lines into Greene and Venango Townships which did not at that time belong to the State. This blunder was corrected, however, upon the purchase of the Triangle (Chapter 9) but some of the other faults of the survey led to much litigation and hard feeling. Few of the soldiers, for whose benefit the lands were set aside, took possession of them, the land patents generally being disposed of at a small price to speculators. The object of the law was fulfilled without using the entire district specified for the donation purpose and the balance of the lands, including part of Erie County not named in several other grants and reservations, reverted to the state.

After the purchase of the Erie Triangle in 1792 the State Authorities continued to make every effort to induce settlers to take up lands on the western side of the mountains, especially in the section in the northwest corner of the state which was expected to become a port of access to all the commerce of the Great Lakes. There were relatively few farms and settlements there. The land was empty, though it was good desirable land, and fertile. On April 8, 1792 the Legislature passed an act to establish and lay out the towns of Presqu' Isle and Le Boeuf, and to set the terms for the sale and purchase of lots in the towns, and of sections of land in the surrounding country. This Act was called the Actual Settlement Act.

Thomas Rees was appointed (May 16, 1792) Deputy Surveyor for the State just after the purchase of the Erie Triangle, and instructed to go there and survey it. He started off, travelling on horseback across the wilderness but when he got as far as Northumberland County, he

was advised against going any farther because of the threatening attitude of the Indians. He turned around and went back to Philadelphia. Again, in the spring of 1793 he started for Erie, this time by a different route. Instead of cutting straight across the mountains, he travelled up into New York State and got as far as Buffalo Creek. There he was stopped by a delegation from the Six Nations, the Iroquois Confederacy, who threatened him with death if he should advance any farther. He returned to Philadelphia again.

The Federal authorities in the nation's capital, Philadelphia, had had some part in this affair. The Iroquois had heard that the State of Pennsylvania had plans for the re-building of Fort Presqu' Isle. They protested to the United States Indian Agent, saying that they were at war with the Wyandots out in the mid-west and a fort on Lake Erie would interfere with their line of attack. This may have been a genuine reason, or perhaps it was an excuse to prevent the incursion of settlers. At any rate, the Indians out in Ohio were on the warpath and had to be placated. Secretary of War Knox discussed this matter with President Washington and the Cabinet, and as a result Knox wrote to Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania asking him to postpone the building of a fort at Presqu' Isle until a more favorable time. That spring three white men were murdered by Indians while travelling from Le Boeuf to Pittsburgh.

Again in the spring of 1794 Rees started out to fulfill his assignment of surveying Presqu' Isle. This time he had protection; the State sent the Allegheny Brigade of State Militia, 77 men and three officers under Captain Ebenezer Denny, who marched up from Pittsburgh as far as Le Boeuf. While there they received instructions from Governor Mifflin that, as requested by Secretary Knox, they were not to go on to Presqu' Isle, but were to stay in Le Boeuf until further orders. The first thing they did was to build two small block houses, large enough to contain the entire force; only then did they feel safe. Rees visited Presqu' Isle, stayed for a time at Le Boeuf, and then returned to Philadelphia. However, he had seen enough of Erie County to fall in love with this country and he determined to become a settler.

Two other surveyors came to Le Boeuf with Captain Denny, Andrew Ellicott and General William Irvine. They spent the summer there, laying out the town of Waterford and giving it that name, after the Irish ancestral home of the Captain's father. At this time the United States was engaged in an unofficial war with France,—unofficial in that war was not legally declared, but there were several actual naval

battles. France and French names were now unpopular. That is the reason why Le Boeuf was named Waterford and Presqu' Isle became Erie. The plot of the layout of Waterford is identical with that used by these surveyors the following year in laying out the design of Erie, and is closely similar to that of Philadelphia.

Out in Ohio the Indians were on the warpath under Chief Little Turtle and as usual they were encouraged by the agents of the British government, even though the Treaty of Paris in 1783 had ended the war for American independence and established a definite boundary between Canada and the United States. However, as most of the inland territory had not been accurately mapped and as the cartographers (map-makers) had great difficulty with the determination of longitude, no one knew positively and exactly where places where. It is quite possible that the English statesmen cherished the same idea that the French had once held,—that the thirteen new United States could be confined within the regions east of the mountains and not allowed to become a large and great nation. The West would be reserved for the Indians, or for Canada which was still a colony of England. Despite the treaty there were garrisons of English troops in several forts including Oswego, Sandusky, Detroit and Mackinac. There was a large force at Fort Niagara on the Canadian side of the river.[2] Sir William Johnson, son of Sir William Johnson (Chapter 7), was British agent in charge of Indian affairs. Joseph Brandt, a Seneca Chief, was actively in their pay; he was Sir William's uncle.

The gifts, liquor and encouragement given by the British agents to the Indians throughout what is now Ohio and Indiana had great effect. The Indians were urged to oppose the settlers. Again was heard the Indian war whoop and the whole border from the Great Lakes to Kentucky was blood-red with massacre and black with the ashes of burned farms. Nothing was safe, and in terror the people fled to the nearest fort.

The Federal Government in 1790 sent an expedition under General Josiah Harmar to quell the Indians. Most of this army of 1000 men were volunteers; only 60 were regular army troops. A battle was fought with the Indians, who were led by Chief Little Turtle, and this army was decisively defeated; the men fled back to the protection of Fort Washington(now Cincinnati). The following year, 1791, another Federal army

2 The author has a letter by Judah Colt, dated April 29, 1796, in which he speaks of requesting from Lieut. Governor Simcoe of Upper Canada, permission to pass by his Majesty's Garrisons without interference, on a journey from Albany to Erie.

was sent to western Ohio. This consisted of almost 2000 troops led by General Arthur St. Clair, a veteran of the Revolution who was now old, fat, and so gouty that he had to be carried on a litter. Again, in a battle that was really a massacre, the Indians defeated the troops, who again fled back to Fort Washington with a loss of almost one-half of their number. Michael Hare, Erie's inveterate veteran, who died and was buried in Waterford half a century later, was one of the survivors.

The Indians, encouraged by the British agents, insisted that the western boundary of the United States must be the Ohio River, and not beyond it. The borders were unsafe. The settlers fled. The lands were deserted. For the third time the Federal Government took action.

This time President Washington called upon his old and trusty friend of the days of the Revolution, Anthony Wayne. Wayne consented to accept this job only on condition that he be allowed to train a picked force for the task. Washington agreed. Wayne was made a Major General and spent the next three years in careful preparation and training of his troops. He had a most unorthodox idea—that against Indians the bayonet would be more effective than the rifle. His reasoning was sound, as the event showed. The average effective range of an Indian's gun was about fifty yards; after it had been fired it took him from one to three minutes to reload it. In that length of time a soldier armed with bayonet could reach the Indian and kill him.

In 1794, Gen. Wayne was ready. He marched his little army out to Fort Washington and then to the north along the banks of the Maumee River. He caught the Indians at a place where there once had been a tornado which had blown down a long belt of timber. The battle lasted only three hours. Wayne's tactics of the bayonet proved to be decisively victorious; the Indians did not like bayonet fighting. This engagement is known as the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Fighting with the Indians was a company of British soldiers under the command of a Captain Caldwell.

In the following year Gen. Wayne was appointed by President Washington to be Indian Commissioner, stationed at Detroit. He had great influence with Chief Little Turtle and all the tribes. In 1795 he called a big pow-wow of all the Indians of the border—1130 of them attended—and after many days of speech-making and feasting a peace treaty was signed which, after six long years of terror and massacre, made the Northwest Territories safe for settlement. This was the Treaty of Greenville. At last, Erie County was safe.

■ THE GRAVE OF MICHAEL HARE, WATERFORD

Under a three-century-old maple tree, well maintained by the American Legion, is this stone with the following inscription:

Michael Hare, born in Armagh County, Ireland, June 10, 1727, was in the French War at Braddock's defeat, served through the Revolutionary War, was with St. Clair and was scalped at his defeat by the Indians. Died March 3, 1843 AE 115 years, 8 months, 13 days.

Elizabeth, his wife, died March 3, 1813 AE 90 years.

Thus this soldier, who was born in Ireland and educated to be a priest, served at the age of 28 in the provincial army during the French and Indian War and took part in the defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock and his aide, Lt. Col. George Washington at the crossing of the Monongahela River on July 9, 1755, in their unsuccessful attack upon Fort Duquesne. Next he served all through the American Revolution. Again he served with General Arthur St. Clair in his expedition against the Indians under Chief Little Turtle; on November 4, 1791, St. Clair's army was completely routed by the Indians on the banks of the Wabash, in Ohio, with 630 killed and 280 wounded out of 2000 troops. Michael Hare was left on the field apparently dead; an Indian scalped him. However, he recovered and when the War of 1812 broke out he immediately volunteered, although over eighty-five years old. Legend has it that, on a cold and rainy Saturday night in March, singing uproariously, he fell into a mud puddle and caught pneumonia with fatal effect, March 3, 1843.

So died Erie County's greatest veteran.

■ **ANTHONY WAYNE BLOCKHOUSE**

Replica (1880) of the Blockhouse built on this spot in 1795 by 200 Federal troops from General Wayne's army under Captain Russell Bissell. The incoming settlers needed protection; two men were killed by Indians on May 22, 1795, within a mile of this fort.

General Wayne, on the way to his home at Radnor, Pa., became ill and died in the Blockhouse on December 15, 1796.

In the fall of 1796, Gen. Wayne felt that he had completed his mission and requested that he be again relieved of his duties so that he could retire to his farm in Chester County. He was then fifty-one years of age.

In December, he left Detroit in a small sloop for Presqu' Isle where he intended to take horse to Pittsburgh. On the way he incurred a severe attack of gout, from which he had been a sufferer for several years; the only known remedy then was brandy, and there was none on board. When he reached Erie he was very ill indeed. The nearest physician was Dr. John C. Wallace in Pittsburgh, who was summoned and who started for Erie on horseback. On reaching Venango the good Doctor received the sad news that General Wayne had died on

the fifteenth of December. He was buried with all suitable military honors at the foot of the flagstaff of the Blockhouse which his troops, under Captain Russell Bissell, had built the previous year.

Thirteen years later, in 1809, his son Colonel Isaac Wayne decided that the remains should be moved and re-interred at the family seat in Chester County. The grave was opened and the body found in a fair state of preservation. Here a difficulty arose, as it was impossible to carry a coffin on the back of a horse, and the path—it could hardly be called a road—to Pittsburgh was so narrow and rough that it could be negotiated by nothing larger than a small two-wheeled cart, too small to contain a coffin. Again Dr. Wallace, who now lived in Erie, was called upon. He opened the body and by boiling and dissection separated the flesh from the bones. The former was again buried in the grave at the Blockhouse; the latter were put in a box and carried to Chester where they now lie beneath a large and properly impressive monument erected by the State of Pennsylvania.

In 1880 the State built in Erie, in memory of this great soldier, the blockhouse which now stands in the grounds of the State Soldiers and Sailors Home, overlooking the beautiful entrance to Presqu' Isle Bay.

Only one other circumstance of this occurrence is perhaps worthy of mention. When the General's grave was opened it was found that one of his leather boots was in good condition. A local bartender named John Duncan obtained the boot, had a mate made for it and for many years strutted about the streets boasting that he stood in the General's shoes. No one could deny it.

9

THE ERIE TRIANGLE

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■ ■ ■ The northern half of Erie County is known as the Erie Triangle, and the story of its ownership is a story of confusion.

The boundaries of each of the thirteen Colonies were supposed to have been established by the terms of the original Charters which were granted by the Kings of England. However, the clerks who drew up the Charters did not know where the lands were, primarily because the lands had not been mapped nor explored, and in some instances not even discovered. It was known that Lake Erie was west of Lake Ontario, but it was not realized that the west end of Ontario extended farther to the west than the east end of Erie. This overlap of sixty-five miles was the cause of the confusion.

The kings of England were not only merry old souls, but they were extremely generous ones too, especially to their friends. They all enjoyed giving away what they did not know they had. When James I gave a charter to the London Company for lands in America, he specified that it included "all the land as far west as the Pacific Ocean." This was satisfactory because no one knew where the ocean was. Similarly, the Connecticut Company's charter granted "All the lands from sea to sea." Virginia's charter specified "from Point Comfort to the Pacific Ocean, including California." These indefinite boundaries soon became troublesome. When George Washington visited Fort Le Boeuf, he believed that he was in Virginia.

Latitude was known and could be computed; longitude was

known but could not be computed. It was not until about 1800 that ship captains knew how to obtain longitude by celestial observation; before that time it was computed by "dead reckoning," which was an intelligent estimate. On land the same method was used; the explorer wrote in his journal each day the number of miles he thought he had covered, and the general direction by his compass; the cartographer, making a map of his route, had to hope it was correct. There is one map which shows the Ohio River in two different locations because it was drawn from the reports of two different explorers.

When Mr. John Mitchell was preparing in 1750 "A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America with the Roads, Distances, Limits and Extent of the Settlements," he found many discrepancies in the accounts of explorers, and wrote on the map some interesting complaints. He said, "I found the true Situation for Latitude and Longitude of many places was undetermined or uncertain in the principal parts . . ." Then he lists eight places, including Niagara and Detroit, of which he does not know the exact latitude; then he discusses the probable inaccuracies of Christopher Gist in his explorations out to Fort Cumberland, Fort Duquesne and the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) and speculates upon the possible variation of the estimate of distance made by an explorer when he is going uphill or downhill. In fact, he says, "All the northern parts of America are made too far north, in our maps and charts, occasioned I perceive by their making no allowance for the variation of the compass . . . ."

The confusions of boundaries led to many acrimonious disputes, some of them lasting for over a hundred years. In Connecticut a group of speculators formed the "Susquehanna Company" which bought from the Connecticut government large areas of good land in the Susquehanna Valley, near what is now Williamsport, Pennsylvania. According to the Connecticut Charter, that state owned it. This Company sold it to settlers who took possession and title to it; Pennsylvania likewise sold and gave title for the same lands to other settlers. This dispute led to actual warfare, called the Pennamite War, in 1775 when the Pennsylvania settlers attacked and dispossessed the Connecticut settlers. This is only one example of the confusion of ownership in the western lands.

The authorities of Pennsylvania thought that the western boundary of the state was somewhere south of what is now Buffalo. In this belief they once negotiated and purchased from the Seneca Indians, for

$1200 cash, some territory which was east of Lake Chautauqua and thus in New York State. A copy of this treaty is now on file at the Erie County Courthouse, Book 398, pages 1, 2, and 3. It is dated January 9, 1789. But even after the boundaries were surveyed and this fact was realized, the Indians did not offer to give back the money.

In three wars between the English and the Dutch, Admiral William Penn had helped King Charles II, who was having financial difficulties with Parliament, by advancing moneys which were used for the purchase of war materials. As a result, when the Admiral died the King owed him the sum of £16,000. To settle this debt the King gave to the Admiral's son, William Penn, a grant of land in the unknown continent of America. Besides liquidation of the debt, there was to be a quit-rent of two beaver skins each year. The King was sure that he had the best of the bargain.

The gift of land was confirmed by a lengthy Charter, written on parchment, which is now in the State Archives at Harrisburg. One of the terms of this Charter carefully specifies that this new colony, or state, shall be named "Pennsylvania" in honor of Admiral Penn. However, William Penn (the son) to whom the King was giving these lands, was a true Quaker who had the gift of Christian humility; he thought it would be pompous vanity for the family name to be perpetuated in that way. Quietly and secretly he approached one of the King's clerks, a "scrivener" who was writing up the document, and offered him a large bribe if he would change the name to "Sylvania." But the King heard of it and refused to allow the change.

The Charter defines the four boundaries of this gift of land. The original intent was that it should be in width three degrees of latitude and in length five degrees of longitude. The charter is dated April 2, 1681 and states carefully but inexactly: "all that tract of land in America bounded on the east by the Delaware River from 12 miles north of Newcastle Town (now in Delaware) unto the 3 and 40th degree of latitude; to extend westward for five degrees of longitude, to be computed from said eastern bounds." This sounds exact, but as it turned out only one of the four boundaries could be definitely located.

The known boundary was the eastern, at the middle of the Delaware River. There was no argument about this one.

"On the south," the Charter reads, the boundary is "the fortieth degree of latitude." Degrees of latitude were at that time considered not as lines but rather as bands running around the world. Each band

had a width of 60 minutes of arc, about 68½ statute miles. The fortieth degree could be considered as everything above the thirty-ninth degree; therefore Pennsylvania claimed, as the southern boundary, land which included most of Maryland and the city of Baltimore, whose charter was much older than the Penn charter.

By a similar interpretation, Maryland claimed that their northern boundary included the fortieth parallel of latitude, a belt of land in which were Philadelphia and Harrisburg. It took a hundred years of argument to settle this dispute. Commissioners compromised the issue by establishing the southern boundary on the parallel exactly fifteen miles south of the city limits of Philadelphia, which was 39 degrees 43 minutes. However, the boundary circled around the city of Newcastle (now in Delaware) at a distance of twelve miles. Mason and Dixon surveyed and marked the line in 1762; they were delayed by Indian troubles (Chapter 8) and did not complete it until 1767.

The Charter also reads "to be bounded on the North by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of north latitude." As the charter of New York was equally definite, there was no dispute. The line was placed squarely upon the forty-second degree of latitude, which was considered as the beginning of the forty-third degree. William Penn thought that he was to receive an area three degrees of latitude in width, about 200 miles, but as the charters of Maryland and of New York ante-dated Penn's charter, he had to be content with what he could get which was two degrees and 17 minutes, or 152 miles. But these adjustments were made long after the death of both the King and of William Penn. The north line was surveyed and marked by Andrew Ellicott in 1787, 259 miles 88 perches westward from the Delaware River, until it reached the shore of Lake Erie in Erie County.

The Charter says: "To extend westward five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds." The Delaware River was not a straight line; technically the western boundary should follow the zigzag course of the river.[1] The opponent here was Virginia, who by its Charter could claim all the western lands and who insisted that Pennsylvania should not extend farther west than the sources of the Potomac River, which was the western limit of Maryland. This argument lasted for a century. Pennsylvania won it and in doing so got a little extra territory. The western corner was agreed to be five full degrees of longitude not from the Delaware River, but from New-

1 The author has a very old map on which the western line is shown thus.

THE TRIANGLE MARKER

This monument is near the bank of Lake Erie, two miles east of the Ohio line and two miles west of North Springfield. It marks the former northern boundary of Pennsylvania, before the purchase of the Triangle.

Each of the four sides of this stone carries a bronze plaque, as follows:

NORTH SIDE: The lands north of this line and easterly to the western line of New York, purchased from the Indians January 9, 1789 and February 3, 1791 and deeded to the State of Pennsylvania by George Washington as President of the United States, and Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State, March 3, 1792.

EAST SIDE: Easterly 516 feet from this monument stood the last milestone, the 259th from the Delaware River.

SOUTH SIDE: Lands in northwestern Pennsylvania included in the charter to William Penn of March 4, 1681 purchased of the Six Nations October 23, 1784 and from the Wyandot and Delaware Indians January 21, 1785.

WEST SIDE: Erected in 1907 by the State of Pennsylvania to mark the location of the Old State Line established in 1786-7.

castle Town, which was 75° 31′ W. Therefore the western boundary was set at 80° 31′ W. The Commissioners agreed to make it a straight line for the simple reason that it would be too hard work to survey a zigzag line. In 1786 Andrew Ellicott surveyed this boundary. It ran into Lake Erie twenty miles **west** of the City of Erie.

Next: where was the western boundary of New York State?

The Charter of New York specified that it should extend westward to the western end of Lake Ontario, then an unknown location. It was not until 1787 that a team of surveyors, including Andrew Ellicott for Pennsylvania, established this line. They journeyed to the end of that lake, established a cairn on the sand bar which now is near the city of Burlington, and then on foot by triangulation ran the line around the end of Lake Erie and found the exact spot on the south shore of that lake which was due south of this cairn. This established the western boundary of New York State as a line twenty miles **east** of what is now the city of Erie.

These surveys left unclaimed a triangle of land of which the east border was New York, the south border was Pennsylvania, and the north border was Lake Erie. It contained about one-half of what is now Erie County. Who owned it?

Massachusetts claimed to own it, because their charter granted them legal title as far as the Pacific. Connecticut had a good claim, as their charter said "sea to sea." Virginia likewise had a valid claim to all the western lands. Pennsylvania needed it, as they wanted a port and harbor on Lake Erie. The adjustment of this dispute was properly a function of the newly-formed Congress of the United States. Commissioners were chosen, who first prevailed upon Virginia to relinquish its claim in favor of the United States; then Massachusetts likewise abandoned its claim; then Connecticut gave up its title, with the exception of 120 square miles which it called its "western Reserve," now in Ohio.

The Federal government and the Pennsylvania government thereupon dickered for the purchase and sale of the Erie Triangle. After much discussion, a contract was drawn up and signed by which Pennsylvania was to purchase this land, consisting of 202,187 acres, for seventy-five cents an acre. The total price was $151,640.25.

The shrewd Pennsylvanians inserted in this agreement the clause that "payment shall be made in gold or silver or in public securities of the United States, bearing interest." This phrase looked harm-

less, and Congress passed its approval on the third of January, 1792. The law is signed by George Washington and John Adams, President and Vice President.

During the Revolution, the Continental Congress had been in great financial difficulties and had authorized the issue of paper money. No interest had been paid on this money and it was considered worthless; "not worth a continental" was the current phrase. On July 19, 1792 Pennsylvania tendered in payment for the Triangle two of these interest-bearing continental certificates, one for $4,285.20 and one for $85,032.08. The interest on these was computed to be $62,322.97.

Of course the government protested and the case was taken to the Supreme Court. The decision was in favor of Pennsylvania. This transaction may have been legal, but was not very ethical; it is usually not mentioned in current histories.

Thus the City of Erie and one-half of the area of this county might have been a part of Connecticut, or of Massachusetts, or of Virginia, or of New York; but by an astute and perhaps questionable deal, it became part of the State of Pennsylvania.

10

PENNSYLVANIA POPULATION COMPANY

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■ ■ ■ Bona fide settlers, those who intended to buy land and live on it, establishing good farms for their own families, were reluctant to go far into the wilderness while there was the imminent threat of attack by Indians. No one wanted to be massacred. No matter how fertile the soil nor how cheap the land, safety for one's self and one's family was prerequisite.

But while the settlers hesitated, the land speculators did not. These people, wealthy and of good social standing in the cities of the east, bought at the Land Office of the State Capital thousands of acres of the best land, intending not to use it nor to settle on it, but to hold it as an investment which would increase in value as other people settled there and made the country prosperous. Then they could sell at an excellent profit. Land was always wealth.

Pennsylvania had purchased the Erie Triangle by a contract of sale which had been approved by the Federal Congress on September 4, 1788. There was a delay (Chapter 9) while the parties discussed the method of payment and it was not until April 18, 1791 that the State Legislature passed a resolution authorizing the Governor to complete the contract. A legal patent for the land was formally issued by the Federal Government on March 3, 1792, bearing the signatures of George Washington as President and Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State. Only at that date did the State possess actual title.

John Nicholson was Comptroller General of Pennsylvania. He

was a born speculator and knew that real estate was a profitable venture. At one time he owned, or at least tried to own, 3,700,000 acres of land in various sections of the state. It is not unexpected that he became financially involved, was compelled to resign his office and was imprisoned; he died eight years later in an insane asylum.

A month after the state received its patent, Nicholson applied to the land office for 390 warrants of land of 400 acres each, in the Triangle; this amounted to two-thirds of the whole area. At the same time he signed for 250 other warrants of land in the Beaver River valley. As this was more than one man could handle, he invited a few friends who were willing to share the expected profits and formed the Pennsylvania Population Company. A Plan of Association was drawn up; the number of shares was 2500, each share representing 200 acres. Nicholson himself held 600 shares; 800 shares were subscribed for by Theophilus Casenove as Manager of the Holland Land Company which already owned much land in Crawford County. Other shareholders were Robert Morris, the Philadelphia banker who managed the country's finances during the Revolution; Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania; Gen. Walter Stewart, the Philadelphia merchant whose store later became known as Wanamaker's; Gen. William Irvine, one of the surveyors; Ebenezer Denny[1] of Allegheny County, who was called out with the Militia and commanded at Fort Le Boeuf three years later, as has been described above. Aaron Burr and Judge James Wilson were shareholders, both prominent and influential men. The Company was off to a good start.

The State Land Office was eager to sell warrants for land even though the officials did not know exactly how much there was, nor where, as it had not been surveyed. The Population Company took over Nicholson's 390 warrants and an additional 500 warrants in Erie and Crawford counties. In fact, they owned the whole Triangle except for certain reserves held for the use of the State. After it had been surveyed, they discovered that they had bought more land than there was.

Thomas Rees, the deputy surveyor for the State, also acted as the resident agent for the Population Company. He set up his tent on the sandy bank of Mill Creek (1795) and was open for business. When not surveying, he sold real estate.

In August, purchasers arrived who were well pleased with the location and terrain of Erie County. Among them was Mr. Judah Colt,

1 He became the first mayor of Pittsburgh in 1816.

■ **FRENCH CREEK**

The head of navigation of French Creek. Judah Colt, resident agent of the Pennsylvania Population Company, established his office here on a tract of 400 acres, with a station or store for furnishing supplies to the settlers on generous terms of credit. He chose this location because it was on the direct path from Presqu' Isle to the Finger Lakes of central New York where was (and still is) the main route of westward-bound travel. Another reason for his choice was that the portage here from Lake Erie is just one-half as long as the distance from Presqu' Isle to Lake Le Boeuf, and was much dryer. Colt's Station is seven miles south of Northeast.

who later became the Agent for the Pennsylvania Population Company. With him was Augustus Porter; they each signed up for 400 acres.

In addition to the Pennsylvania Population Company, the Holland Land Company took warrants at various times for lands in Erie County, south of the Triangle lands. So also did the Harrisburg & Presqu' Isle Company, formed by ten men including Thomas Forster and

Richard Swan who purchased from the State Land Office 45 lots in the city of Presqu' Isle, and also 430 acres at the mouth of Walnut Creek, where Forster and Swan settled and ultimately built a saw mill and a grist mill. They laid out a town there and named it Fairview, but later the Population Company disputed its title, claiming that they had bought it first. After long litigation, the Company won and the site was sold by the Sheriff. Fairview then moved to its present location, a few miles to the south.

Now began the battle of the real estate titles, a long and bitter struggle between honest settlers and honest purchasers. It lasted for ten years and delayed the growth of Erie for that length of time. The story is a compendium of confusion. It aroused bitter personal hatreds which continued for the next fifty years.

The act of the legislature which was named "The Actual Settlement Act" was passed on April 8, 1792. That was two years and a half before the Battle of Fallen Timbers and the treaty of Greenville,—an important legal point upon which the whole case depended.

The terms of purchase, as stipulated in this Act, seemed to be definite. The lands were to be sold to "any person who will cultivate, improve and settle the same, or cause them to be improved and settled, at Seven pounds ten shillings per 100 acres, with an allowance of 6% for roads. One applicant may purchase 400 acres." Then followed the clauses intended to bring about actual settlement and to ensure that the true settler would be protected in his rights. The actual wording of the clauses which caused all the trouble is as follows:

> "No title shall vest in the lands unless the grantee has prior to the issuance of his warrant, made or caused to be made, or shall, within two years next after the same, make or cause to be made an actual settlement thereon, by clearing, fencing and cultivating at least two acres for every hundred in one survey, and erected a house, and resided or caused a family to reside on the same for the five years immediately following; and in default thereof new warrants shall be issued to actual settlers; Provided, that if any such actual settler or grantee shall, by force of arms of the enemies of the United States, be prevented from making such settlement or be driven therefrom and shall persist in his endeavors to make such actual settlement, then, in either case, he and his heirs shall be entitled to have and to hold such lands in the same manner as if the actual settlement had been made."

The inrushing tide of settlers could not be checked nor controlled. The Population Company had made its purchases in 1792 and as two years had elapsed and they had made no cultivated settlements, people assumed that the Company's title had lapsed, the lands had reverted to the State, and the territory was wide open for the entrance of any settlers who would actually make farms and clearings. On the other hand, the Company pointed out that the Indian troubles in Ohio had prevented them from making any actual settlements. In support of their claim, they pointed out that the two Rutledges, father and son had been killed, supposedly by Indians on May 22, 1795 and that their murder was certainly a proof of prevention "by force of arms of the enemies of the United States." This murder took place less than two miles from the fort, near what is now the New York Central Railroad Station.

Judah Colt, as has been said, visited Fort Presqu' Isle briefly in 1795 and purchased a warrant for 400 acres, at one dollar an acre payable in 5 years, from Thomas Rees who was Surveyor for the State and also Agent for the Population Company. Rees resigned the following year, to take up a large tract of land in Harborcreek Township. In 1796 Colt travelled to Philadelphia and offered to buy from the Company 30,000 acres in the Triangle; the Company refused but, as they were impressed by his abilities, they engaged him to act as Agent for the Company in the Triangle, at a salary of $1500 a year. He returned to Presqu' Isle and found that in the entire area there were many "adverse settlers," or, as he usually called them, "Intruders." These people had made clearings, fenced farms, and in general were occupying the land which the Company had purchased from the State.

Colt kept a diary methodically every day. In it he says: "The season was one of much business. The opposition of adverse settlers caused me much trouble. I had to keep from forty to one hundred men in service to defend settlers and property. More than once mobs of twenty to thirty assembled for the purpose of doing mischief." And in a later entry he confesses "The obstinacy of adverse settlers renders my employment in some respects unpleasant." This may be called an understatement of the conditions then existing in Erie County.

It is difficult today to imagine the vindictive confusion which at that time pervaded Erie County. The Company considered their title to be legal and just and believed they were operating within their rights. Under the law, the Company had purchased legally a large quantity of

land at the legal price of 7 pounds 10 shillings per acre, with ten years to pay; this amounts to about 30 cents per acre. Their selling price was $1.00 per acre for 100 acres, with a second 100 acres given free as gratuity. Thus, of a tract of 400 acres, one-half went to the settler for $100, and one-half was reserved, to be sold later by the Company at better prices. Theoretically, it was a sound venture with prospect of reasonable profits; legally, it was correct and the Company was vindicated in the several lawsuits in local courts, in the State Supreme Court, and finally in the United States Supreme Court where in February 1805 Chief Justice John Marshall delivered it as the unanimous decision of the Court that the Company's title was secure. Nevertheless, it was not a profitable venture; not only did it not pay dividends, but several heavy assessments were paid by the stockholders. When, in 1812, the Company was liquidated not a cent was paid to any shareholder.

Although the Company finally won its case in 1805, the settlers did not know that in 1796. They believed implicitly that the legal title to the lands had reverted to the State, that the State could now give clear title to any legitimate purchaser,—anyone who according to the phrasing of the law, made a clearing of at least two acres, built thereon a house at least sixteen feet square with a chimney, and intended to reside there for five years. It is not hard to understand the feelings of such a settler, proud as he was of the farm which he had created, when he was informed that he did not own the land on which he had built.

Of course, popular feeling was all against the Company. There was much unpleasantness, as the above entry from Mr. Colt's diary shows. Eventually this division of loyalty, as so often happens in the United States, found its way into politics,—the Adverse Settlers (Intruders) favored the Democrats and their opponents the Federalists.

This turmoil, this vindictive battle between the Company and the Intruders, had one unfortunate effect. Incoming prospective settlers, seeking land, refused to stay in Erie County because of the fear that they might not be able to obtain a clear legal title to their purchases. Hundreds of settlers preferred to go to Ohio and to buy land there, where there was no such confusion. This is one reason why Cleveland and eastern Ohio became fully settled and prosperous long before Erie County was.

The opposition to the Population Company was organized. A firm named Dunning McNair & Company, of Pittsburgh, sold 240 sec-

tions of land in the southwestern section of the county,—land for which the Company owned the title deeds, or Land Patents. The settlers along French Creek, led by Watts and Scott, formed an association hostile to the Company. At the mouth of Sixteen Mile Creek, the Lowrey brothers committed many acts of violence against the Company settlers so that at last Judah Colt went to court in Pittsburgh and swore out warrants, which resulted in stiff fines and even, in one instance, a short imprisonment for the intractable brothers.

Judah Colt, as Resident Agent for the Pennsylvania Population Company, had a rough and difficult job. He had to protect the legal rights of his employers and at the same time he wanted to help the settlers to become established and the land to become settled and civilized. At the Company's expense, he laid out roads for travel. He himself ran most of the survey lines and he imported from the east scythes, plows, shovels, seed wheat, powder and shot, kettles, fire irons, bar iron for the blacksmith, and everything needed in a frontier community. These necessities he sold to the settlers at his cost; his account dated February 1799 shows that he spent $7,022.57½ for provisions and $8,492.87½ for merchandise, all of which he sold to the settlers on very long terms of credit.

It is admitted by all, even his enemies, that he carried out his duties with fairness as well as firmness. He had the respect of the whole community. Although the Intruders used tactics of terrorism on the Company's settlers, at no time was there ever any threat of violence against him personally. The Company, through Judah Colt, treated its grantees with commendable liberality and instances occurred where parties were allowed forty years in which to pay. Mr. Colt could have no better epitaph than this, that at all times even in the midst of bitter strife, he had the respect of his enemies . . . .

The toils, trials, troubles and tribulations of the men who brought civilization to Erie and Erie County were at last ended. The terrorism from the Indians had been dispelled by the Battle of Fallen Timbers and the subsequent peace in 1794. The threat from the English, delivered through the Indians, had ceased with the Treaty with Great Britain arranged by John Jay in 1794 in which they agreed to vacate the western forts within two years. The difficulties arising from the confusion of land titles had been ameliorated by the just firmness of Judah Colt and were at last settled by decision of the Supreme Court.

The tide of settlers, hungry for land, arrived. In 1794 the popu-

lation was zero; in 1795, four families; in 1796, the Population Company accepted 62 settlers, plus probably an equal number of "Intruders." The census of 1800 showed 1468 people in the County, and ten years later there were 3768. Erie County started to grow. In 1960 the census counted 250,682.

11

THE PIONEERS

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■ ■ ■ The Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 was followed by the Peace Treaty of Greenville. In November, President Washington wrote to Governor Mifflin telling him that now the frontier could be considered safe and settlement could commence. The Governor early in 1795 issued a formal proclamation stating that the western territories of Pennsylvania were now safe for settlers.

In the spring of 1795, Thomas Rees returned for the fourth time to his job of surveying the lands of the Erie Triangle. On his arrival he was happy to find at Presqu' Isle two hundred Federal troops from General Wayne's army, under Captain Russell Bissell. They were engaged in rebuilding the fort and the log cabins of the village and they also built a sawmill on Mill Creek, thus giving this stream its name.

As additional protection to Rees and to reinforce Captain Denny at Le Boeuf, the State sent to Presqu' Isle Captain John Grubb and the Lancaster Brigade of the Second Regiment of Pennsylvania Militia.

The first real settlers of the future city were Dr. Seth Reed with his wife and two of his children. They travelled on horseback from their home near Canadaigua, New York, and from Buffalo came to Erie in a very small sail boat owned by James Talmadge. They arrived after sunset and, not knowing their way, camped for the night on the Peninsula, building a comfortable fire and making a pleasant camp. Their fire however was seen from the village and the soldiers thought that Indians were about to attack them. In the morning four soldiers, heavily armed, paddled across and made the happy discovery that the new-

comers were not Indians, but white people. Thomas Rees was happy to welcome them as Erie's first settlers. This was in June, 1795.

Out in Erie County the first settler to take up land was Captain Robert King, a veteran of the Revolution and a friend of General LaFayette. He had been employed by the State as a Negotiator with Indians, and for his services the Legislature voted to give him 400 acres of land in the Donation District. In July, 1794, he with a companion travelled up the west Branch of the Susquehanna River and crossed over the mountains by an Indian trace or path to the Allegheny River. There they built a flat boat and floated down to the mouth of French Creek (formerly Venango River) where they saw the ruins of the French Fort Michaux. From there they poled their boat upstream for eighty miles to Fort Le Boeuf. There they were happy to meet Captain Denny and to enjoy the protection of his 77 soldiers.

King liked Erie County. He chose for his 400-acre tract a location a few miles east of the Fort near what is now Mill Village, where there was a shallow ford across French Creek. Years later the Ford Bridge was built there. He returned to his home for the winter and in the spring brought his family of five sons and six daughters to the new farm. This time they travelled an easier route, via Pittsburgh. They reached Erie County on May 15, 1795.

Within a month there were other settlers: Thomas and William Black began to clear a farm farther up on French Creek, and William Miles settled, also on the same creek, near what is now Wattsburg.

Here is the story of Sam Holliday and his bride Jeanette. They were one of many thousands of similar couples who went through the same experiences, the same hardships and labors, successes and failures. In this tale, the facts are absolutely true, though the conversations must be regarded as fictional.

The farm which Sam picked out is today being operated by his great-great-great-grandsons.

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Samuel Holliday was a good-looking lad of twenty-two, six feet tall, a good woodsman, a good farmer, and the best hunter in the county. Six years previously his father had brought his wife and family, consisting of Sam and his two brothers and one sister, from England. They had landed in Philadelphia, the biggest city in America, having 28,522 inhabitants. They brought with them their entire worldly pos-

■ MIDDLEBROOK CHURCH AND BURYING GROUND

It was in August 1801 that the first Protestant church service was held near this spot. The minister, Rev. James Satterfield, arrived late because he "became bewildered" (i.e. lost his way) and had to lie out in the woods all night. Every man and woman in the township was present. After the preaching, the men agreed to return the following Thursday "with axes and dinners" and to erect a church. Two acres of land were donated by Mr. Warren at a beautiful location on a knoll just above a fine spring called Middlebrook. The log building was completed in one day. A few years later it caught fire from an overheated stove, and burned. A frame building replaced it, which served the community for 60 years. No trace of it remains.

In the cemetery, or burying ground as they called it, beneath the 200-year old maples are a number of marked and unmarked graves telling of the lives and loves and tragedies of pioneer life. One stone reads:
Here lieth the bodies of Phebe Tracy and her infant son who departed this life on the 19th of March A.D. 1813. The former at 5 o'clock P.M. aged 34 years, the latter at 7 o'clock P.M.

The heartbreak of infant mortality may be seen in these four separate stones:
In Memory of: Ralph & Hanh & an infant of R & E Spafford who died as follows viz: Ralph died January 14, 1824 AE 2 years. Hanh died April 7, 1815 AE 9 months. Infant died February 1818.
In Memory of: Wm. & Jane, son & daughter of Ralph & Eleanor Spafford the former died with the latter January 18, 1821 AE 7 & 4 years.
In Memory of: Adolphus son of R & E Spafford who died September 14, 1828 AE 3 years.
In Memory of: Eleanor wife of Ralph Spafford who died April 11, 1828 AE 41 years.

sessions consisting of a tall clock, a feather bed and a few iron pots for cooking. They had some money, in gold sovereigns.

They decided to move on to the west, immediately. From a livery stable they purchased a team of good draught horses and a second-hand Conestoga wagon. Also they bought a plow and scythes and other hand tools, some food and some cloth. They loaded the wagon and started out the Lancaster Pike to seek their fortune. They were not alone; there were many other similar families, with similar wagons, going along the same road with the same intentions.

Two weeks later they were about half-way to Fort Pitt in what is now Franklin County, near the present city of Gettysburg. The father liked the land, the soil was good, there was plenty of room, and he made the decision to settle there and build his farm.

Six years later in the spring of 1795, the farm was a prosperous one. Mr. Holliday raised cattle for the eastern market, also maize (Indian corn) and a little wheat. He was the first farmer there to raise wheat. He had also a large vegetable garden which grew all their food, and several apple trees and a small garden of flavoring herbs. It was a comfortable, prosperous farm and the father was glad that he had come to America. The children were growing up; they were doing most of the work. They were educated, they could read and write. They knew how to run the farm and could take care of themselves in the woods. They were self-reliant children.

Their nearest neighbors were the Campbells, a good family who had come over from Scotland three years before. The Hollidays had helped the Campbells to build their cabin as soon as they arrived. The farms were only two miles apart, just across the Western Path and neighborly calls were frequent, perhaps as often as twice in a month. One Sunday evening of April, 1795 young Sam dropped in to call.

After the usual exchange of news and events of their farm life, the parents tactfully talked to each other and pretended not to notice that Sam and Jeanette, their older daughter had slipped out together. They sat on the big butternut log which was used as a hitching rail near the door.

He poured into her ears all the ideas of a boy of twenty-two; about the wonderful lands out west where there was plenty of room, land was cheap and the soil was rich and waiting to be farmed; where a man could develop his own security; where there was still plenty of game and the Indians were friendly. He told her all the news he had

heard from the passing drovers and drivers on the Western Path—about the Erie Triangle lands,—that the State was selling them at seven pounds ten shillings for 100 acres, with a bonus thrown in of a hundred acres if within two years a settler cleared a farm and built a cabin with a chimney. A rosy picture for a man with ambition.

He told her that he had made up his mind to go out there, and asked her to wait for him. Her answer was a whispered "Yes," although she knew that waiting might mean weeks or months or years. Waiting was a woman's job.

Sam's father was a wise father. He made no objection to his son's decision to go out into the world and make his own way. It was time; he had brought up the boy as best he could, and he was proud of the result. Sam was a good farmer, a good woodsman, a self-reliant man. The other two boys, with the hired man, could carry on the work of the farm . . . .

Eight months passed. It was the day before Christmas, 1795, when Sam Holliday returned. Like every boy of twenty-two, he didn't talk much; he wanted to tell Jeanette first. He answered the family's questions evasively, but pleasantly, saying that he would tell them all about it on the morrow; that he had covered forty miles that day since sunrise; that he was tired. So, being understanding parents, they agreed that he ought to call on the neighbors that evening.

The Campbell family greeted him with cordial and friendly warmth, asked many questions and received somewhat vague replies. They gave him the local news, that it had been a good year with an excellent wheat crop; a drove of cattle was leaving for Philadelphia next week; no sickness in the neighborhood; plenty to eat; cows were all fresh; new calf born yesterday, all white; would he like to see it? It was the mother's suggestion that he ought to see it right away. Sam and Jeanette strolled hand in hand to the warm cow barn.

"Listen, Jeanette," he said eagerly, "I've found the most wonderful country. Level and lush, with plenty of water and timber and meadows. It will grow anything, and besides there is plenty of game and wild fruits, and the Indians have not lived there for years and years. Settlers are beginning to come in rapidly; the land agent told me that last year 200 people had bought land. Of course it is not all surveyed yet, and most of it was bought by speculators, but I know that people are coming. Already there is a company of Pennsylvania militia there under Captain John Grubb and also a company of United States

troops, building Fort Presqu' Isle. The fort at Lake Le Boeuf has just been built. There is one family now living at Presqu' Isle,—a doctor named Dr. Seth Reed and his two children. He was a Colonel at the Battle of Bunker Hill. And another man named William Miles, who is one of the surveyors, is going to take up land out in the county somewhere, I don't know where. You see, you will have neighbors.

"And I found the most wonderful place; it is twenty miles west of Presqu' Isle, on a little creek that has no name; it is a very crooked little creek, and when you see it you can name it, and it will have that name forever and forever. Let's call it Jeanette Creek."

"Let's call it just Crooked Creek; I like that name," said Jeanette.

"All right. Crooked Creek it is, forever and forever. I went to the land agent, Mr. Thomas Rees, and took a warrant for seven hundred acres—think of that! And it is ours, or will be soon as we make it a farm and get it paid for."

"Tell me more," she said.

"It is a wonderful place. Only twenty miles from Presqu' Isle, and it is easy travelling because you follow the beach the whole way. The cabin—I couldn't build a very big one because I was alone, but when I get a horse I'll be able to drag in bigger logs and I'll build another one. It is near the foot of the creek so there is plenty of water only a few yards from the door. It is set a few rods back from the lake for protection from storms, but the lake is right there, and there is plenty of fish. I found big carp weighing 50 pounds, and sturgeon weighing nearly a hundred; and turtles which were two feet across. And plenty of smaller fish like pickerel and bass, three and four pounds each. There is a big meadow which has good grass for cattle, and I ringed[1] the trees around it so that when we arrive we will find a large clearing. I got there too late to do any planting, but I did get the cabin built and the clearing started. Here, eat this."

He reached into his shoulder bag and gave her a small fruit about an inch thick. "What is it?" she said.

"A cranberry. They grow in bogs, everywhere. They ripen in the fall, and if you put them in a root cellar they will not become spoiled. Mrs. Reed told me that she has three barrels of them, which will keep through the winter. She said it took only one day to pick them. Then besides cranberries, in the spring there are strawberries, and leeks and water cress and wild lettuce and any number of good

1 Cutting a deep ring around a tree through the bark; the tree will die within a year.

■ **HOLLIDAY HOUSE**

In 1796 Captain Samuel Holliday purchased 700 acres of land at the mouth of Crooked Creek, now North Springfield. He erected a log cabin during the summer and when winter came he went back to Franklin County and married Jeannette Campbell. In the spring they returned and were the first settlers in this township.

Their nearest neighbors were Dr. Seth Reed, his wife and three sons, who had built their log cabin under the walls of Fort Presqu' Isle in Erie, twenty miles away. There were no roads, but a wide sandy beach made easy travelling (in good weather) all the way.

Their first child, Elizabeth, was born May 14, 1798. They had six children in all and, finding the log cabin to be rather cramped, he built this "salt box" house in 1806. In it his descendant, George G. Holliday, now lives.

The great-great-great-grandsons of the Captain, the sixth generation, are now operating the farm.

salad plants; and blackberries and raspberries and blueberries and thimbleberries and june berries and gooseberries; and in the fall there are chestnuts and walnuts and butternuts and hickory nuts, and beech nuts which bears like, and acorns which the squirrels live on. It is a rich wonderful country. Next spring we are going there. When shall we get married?"

The Western Path was an artery for news. Back and forth it carried all communication; every traveller, every drover told everyone all that he knew about events, and most of it was accurate. No one ever felt the necessity for dramatizing the news; it was too vital, too

close to the springs of existence. News of land, of money, of Indians, of laws passed, of settlers, of the English troops still occupying the western forts,—all such news was reported as truthfully and accurately as in a modern newspaper.

In this way, word was spread about the countryside that the Reverend Samuel Tait, a Presbyterian minister from Shippensburg, would come out into Franklin County early in April, before the spring plowing, to hold "Society Meetings." Mr. Campbell, Jeanette's father, sent word to him that he would be glad to have him hold some of the services at his home, an invitation which Rev. Tait accepted.[2]

On Sunday the third of April, 1796, in her father's house, Jeanette Campbell was married to Samuel Holliday. The ceremony was held in the afternoon, after the regular preaching services. All the neighbors attended, but there was little celebration and merriment because it was the Sabbath. Two days later the bride and groom set out for their new home on the shore of Lake Erie. It would soon be the season of spring planting.

The wedding had been happy, but the parting was sad. Mrs. Campbell knew that in all probability she would never see her daughter again. As a wedding present, she had given Jeanette one of her five iron cooking pots and a carefully saved dress length of brown linsey-woolsey from which, sometime in the future, Jeanette could make herself a new dress. Samuel received from his father the present of a gray mare. They went away with Jeanette riding the mare, all their worldly goods and furniture piled behind her.

Comparatively, there was not very much, but in their own opinion they had everything they needed. On the mare Jeanette carried the cook pot, three long spoons, two carving knives, a small bag of corn flour, a whole quarter of a hog and a big bag of parched (dried) maize. In one of the two saddlebags she had the brown cloth, some calico, needles and thread and a few buttons, a change of linen, a bag of precious yeast, a bag of seed corn, and seeds for a vegetable garden. She was wearing linen underwear, wool stockings, deerskin moccasins, wool bloomers, a huge skirt of linsey-woolsey reaching to her ankles, and a long cape and hood to cover her when it rained and to keep her warm at night.

2 Later Rev. Tait went to western Pennsylvania and opened meetings at Cool Spring, near Mercer. He inspired his followers to build a church, and all the men assembled to do so. As they were working, Thomas McLean appeared with a keg of whiskey under his arm. Instantly everyone stopped, the keg was broached and everyone was refreshed, the Pastor taking the first drink. Immediately and unanimously, McLean was elected to be Ruling Elder of the congregation, a post which he held for many years.

He was wearing, over linen underwear and a linen shirt, everything made of deerskin. His moccasins were like hers; they were tucked under deerskin leggins which in turn were under short-legged trousers, and a deerskin shirt covered the trousers. A long skin cape was rolled up and tied to his haversack, in which were lead bullets, extra flints for his rifle, and flint and steel for making fire. Around his shoulders hung the powder horn, filled. His axe with a short handle hung from the saddle. In the other saddlebag he had a spare knife and flint and steel, iron for a plow tip, more iron for hinges, and a few nails. He also had an auger, a froe and a mold for making lead bullets. Thus equipped, the young Hollidays set out to civilize the wilderness.

They followed Nemacolin's Path (now Route #30) as far as Fort Pitt at Pittsburgh, where for a penny they were ferried across the river. They had plenty of fellow travellers on the road, and there were farms and sometimes inns at which for sixpence they could obtain dinner and a warm place to sleep. Fort Pitt was now surrounded by a bustling city with 800 inhabitants, several stores, blacksmith shops and a general atmosphere of activity. Hundreds of settlers with all their belongings were there, on their way to the fine level lands of Ohio.

From Fort Pitt on they travelled alone. There was a rough path which was easy to follow; it was wide enough for a horse, but not for a wagon. They forded the streams, as there was not a single bridge. They slept in the woods and if it rained a small lean-to of hemlock branches was quickly erected. They ate the pork and the flour, not stopping to do any hunting. At Venango they took shelter in the old French fort, still standing though dilapidated. At Meadville they met three families who had settled there. At Le Boeuf they found shelter in the fort which had been rebuilt by the troop of State Militia under Captain Ebenezer Denny. At last, almost a month from the day they had started, they arrived at Fort Presqu' Isle. Dr. and Mrs. Seth Reed and their two sons welcomed them and took them in as guests. Mrs. Reed and Mrs. Holliday had many a long talk—good woman's talk—about how to make a comfortable home and a productive farm.

They stayed with the Reeds for a day and two nights, and learned a great deal about this new country. Dr. Reed confirmed the fact that many new settlers were coming in, fifty or sixty at least, although last year (1795) there were only three families, named Miles, Baird and Talmadge; that Mr. Thomas Rees no longer was agent for the Population Company as he had taken up a large tract near Harbor-

creek, and that Mr. Dunning McNair was now the agent; that two men named Judah Colt and Augustus Porter had come through in August and liked the land so much that they each took 400 acres; that now there was a company of Federal Troops from General Wayne's army, about 200 men under Captain Russell Bissell, who were rebuilding the Fort Presqu' Isle and were going to build a sawmill too; that the whole county was now being surveyed. A company of the second regiment of Pennsylvania Militia under Captain John Grubb was here to protect the surveyors, although the danger from Indians was probably past and done with; it was a full year ago that the two Rutledges, father and son, had been killed less than two miles from the fort. General Wayne had concluded a definite treaty of peace with Chiefs Little Turtle and Blue Jacket and Black Hoof, in which the Indians agreed not to molest the white settlements. Dr. Reed told them that Thomas Forster and Richard Swan had each taken warrants for 400 acres of land at the mouth of Walnut Creek. "So you see, Mr. Holliday," the Doctor concluded, "you already have neighbors out there, and the whole county is going to be settled and civilized rapidly. Forster said that he intends to build a sawmill and a gristmill too. Here at Fort Presqu' Isle we are going to have a port and a village, with fisheries and mills and stores, and I'm going to start a hotel. What's more, I'm going to change the name so that it is called Erie; I don't like the French name; too hard to spell it."

Mrs. Reed enjoyed having another woman to talk to. Jeanette had been brought up on a pioneer farm and knew what the life entailed and Mrs. Reed could not tell her much that she did not already know; she did explain about the cranberries, which were new to her. Jeanette said, "We're going to make our farm the most comfortable farm around here, and some day I hope to have a cow." Mrs. Reed answered, "I hope you do, my dear, but remember the wolves; there are lots of them around."

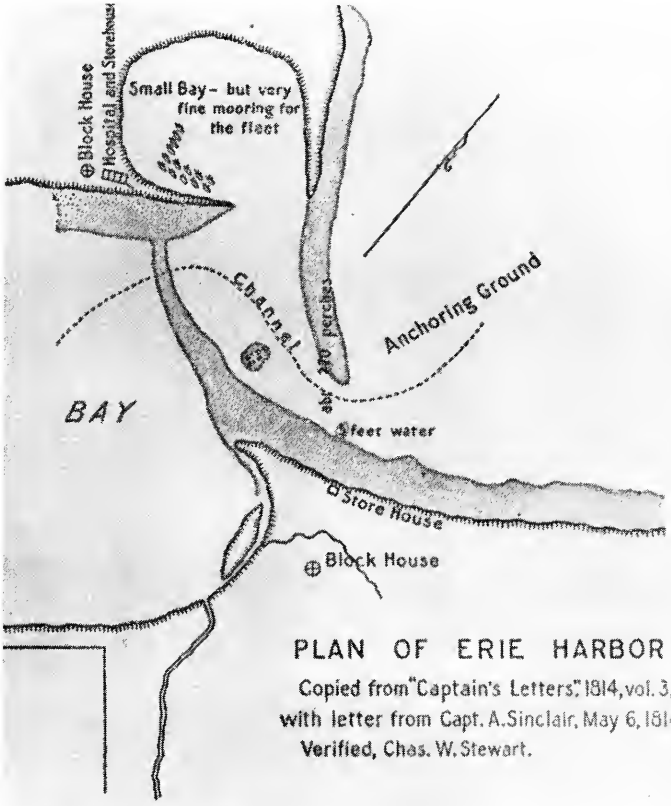
Sam and Jeanette started off in the morning, carrying in addition to their possessions a leather bottle of maple syrup and a wooden bucket which were the parting gifts of Mrs. Reed. They travelled along the beach and made good time. At Walnut Creek they met and talked to Forster and Swan, who were hard at work building a log cabin. Jeanette rode, and Samuel led the horse. At the mouth of Elk Creek they paused in mid-stream to allow the horse to drink. Suddenly Jeanette said, "S-S-S-S." Samuel, moving only his head, looked up on the

bank; there he saw twin fawns gazing at them, the first humans they had ever seen. In less than two seconds' time, Sam dropped the lead rope, swung his gun down with one hand, found his powder horn, uncorked it, poured a primer of powder into the pan, set the flint, cocked the trigger, aimed, and fired at the nearest fawn. It leaped, and fell into the bush. Sam handed his gun to his wife and ran to recover it. "That's good luck," he said; "venison for dinner." Then he gutted the deer, recovered the bullet and put it in his pocket, slung the carcass over his shoulder, and they went on.

A mile farther on, the horse suddenly shied in fright. Sam held him and pointed. "Look, a black bear!" There, grubbing for ants in a rotten log, was a bear standing upright, taller than a man by a foot, staring at the human intruders. An easy shot, but Sam was wise. "Good old boy! We'll wait for next fall to get him, when he's fatter and we need the meat." On they went, happily.

They reached Crooked Creek in the late afternoon. It was just as attractive as Sam had said it was. The ringed and leafless trees made a large sunny clearing. The cabin was placed only a few yards from the creek—just a short walk to carry water—under a huge chestnut tree. It was about sixteen feet square; at one end was a doorway still without a door as Sam had yet to make the hinges. A window could be cut in later. On the other side was the fireplace, eight feet wide, five feet high and four feet deep, made of stone slabs from the creek for the first six feet, and above that of small sticks thickly daubed with creek clay. The chinks between the logs of the cabin were filled with the same clay. The roof was made of puncheons—boards two or three inches thick split from chestnut logs—and held in place by heavier logs. There was not a nail in the building.

This was their own land, their home. All life was before them.



PLAN OF ERIE HARBOR 1814

Copied from "Captain's Letters," 1814, vol. 3, page 23; with letter from Capt. A. Sinclair, May 6, 1814. A.H.E. Verified, Chas. W. Stewart.

12

DANIEL DOBBINS BUILDS A FLEET

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■ ■ ■ The sunset flamed and flared in brilliant colors, as it usually does in mid-summer in the northern lakes. The date was the sixteenth of July, 1812. The day had been warm and windless and as the colors faded the off-shore breeze cooled the waters of Lake Huron. The Schooner "Salina" swung at her anchor in the quiet harbor of the village of Mackinac, which nestled against the high cliffs upon which Fort Mackinac was built. Everything was peaceful; Captain Daniel Dobbins and his partner Rufus Seth Reed had sold their entire cargo of salt at a satisfactory price—they were the only traders to bring salt to this distant village—and were eagerly expecting to set sail in the morning and to go back home to Erie. They had been away for almost two months and the cabin boy, Willie Reed[1], Rufus' nephew, was getting homesick. He was just fifteen years old, the first boy born in Erie County, and he was hungry for fresh milk and his mother's cooking. It was time to get back home.

The off-shore breeze brought to them something more than cooling comfort. It brought a war.

Four weeks previously, on June 18, 1812 the Congress of the United States had passed a formal declaration of war against the Kingdom of Great Britain. This news had not yet reached Fort Mackinac. It had however reached Fort St. Joseph, the British fort on the Canadian

1 William Wyndham Reed became Chief Engineer of the Erie Extension Canal and was first President of the Board of Water Commissioners of Erie (1867). He was the father of Miss Sarah Reed (1838-1934).

side of Lake Huron, forty miles away, in the form of an express message from General Isaac Brock at Niagara. The General ordered Captain Charles Roberts, the commanding officer of Fort St. Joseph, to capture Fort Mackinac, quickly.

The very next day, Captain Roberts assembled a force consisting of 46 British regulars, 306 Canadians and 715 Indians. That evening in more than a hundred canoes they embarked. The off-shore breeze pushed them along the smooth surface of the lake at a fast rate. They reached Mackinac Island a little after midnight and, keeping well away from the village, paddled around to the back of the Island where there were no farms and where no one lived. There they landed and in absolute silence crept up to the fort and surrounded it. When sunrise came, Captain Roberts pounded on the door of the fort and invited Lieutenant Porter Hancks to surrender.

To say that the Lieutenant was surprised would be an understatement. He had gone to bed the previous evening enjoying the serenity of peace; he woke this morning to be told that there was war. He looked around, and everywhere he saw the British and Indians and Canadians, some of whom he knew as his personal friends. His own force consisted of exactly 57 men. He knew that no reinforcement could reach him for many weeks, and that it was impossible and silly to fight. Reluctantly he agreed with Captain Roberts that he could do nothing else. He surrendered the fort.

Under the terms of the surrender the American soldiers, all 57 of them, were paroled. Under this arrangement each man took an oath that he would no longer bear arms in this war but that he would go home and stay there until such time as both the British and the Americans had a number of prisoners whom they were willing to exchange. Then they could again become active soldiers or sailors. The breaking of parole was considered such a serious offense that its punishment was immediate execution,—to be shot by a firing squad without benefit of a trial of any kind. In those days, a man's word given under oath was considered sacred and inviolable.

Captain Roberts' terms were generous: all Americans were to leave and to take their property with them; only British or Canadian citizens could live in the village. The sloop "Salina" would be used as a "cartel" ship to carry the Americans as far as Cleveland (Ohio), where the ship was to be broken up so that it could not be used again in the war. Captain Dobbins, though a civilian, was a prisoner and had to

agree to the terms of surrender and to the use of his ship.

The Captain was a strong-minded man; he was physically strong and mentally keen. If he seemed to be stubborn, it was merely the result of his inner driving force and courage. Difficulties were for him just something to be overcome. He always knew what he wanted and usually got it. The adjective "forceful" is probably the correct one to use in summing up this man who, by his energy, his driving force and indomitable will overcame all obstacles, including the scarcity of materiel and personnel and the opposition of regular navy officers, and who built the fleet which saved all the Northwest Territory from being abandoned to the British.

The next day the Americans boarded the "Salina," crowding it to its capacity, and under a guard of seven British soldiers set sail down the lake toward Detroit. The seven British were not very intelligent nor helpful; they were seasick most of the time and they knew nothing about the navigation of Lake Huron. On the fourth day as they approached Detroit, Dobbins suggested that they should run up a British flag to the masthead as "they were nearing Fort Malden," which was headquarters of the British. This seemed to be a reasonable suggestion and one of the soldiers obligingly did so. The soldiers did not know Fort Detroit from Fort Malden. When one of the British asked the Captain why he stayed so close to the American shore, he was told that the water was deeper there, which also seemed reasonable. There was another reason which the Captain did not mention—that General William Hull with an American army held Detroit and could recapture the "Salina."

The scheme worked out exactly as he had planned. Raising the British flag and steering close to the walls of the fort made it certain that the American soldiers would halt the ship. A loud hail from the shore, one shot fired across the bow and instantly the Captain put up his helm, dropped anchor and surrendered thankfully to the American troops. It was easy. The guard of seven British soldiers were treated as prisoners and the Americans were made a part of the garrison of the fort. Captain Dobbins was with them.

Two weeks later, however, General William Hull surrendered the entire American force to the British General Isaac Brock, without firing a shot. Fort Detroit was now British.

Daniel Dobbins was in a difficult spot. He considered himself a civilian and thus should not be included in the surrender of the military

forces. On the other hand, he had sailed a ship which contained American troops from Mackinac and he was in the fort with the garrison at the time of surrender. If the British believed that he had broken his parole, he could be shot immediately without even a military drumhead trial. Several of the Canadian officers had known Dobbins personally and knew that he was the best navigator and pilot on the lakes. He was a valuable prisoner. In fact a British Major named Muir gave an official order that Dobbins was to be caught "dead or alive," and must not be included with the civilians and paroled soldiers who were to be released and sent to Cleveland.

But a friend named Boil, or Boyle, who had known Dobbins for several years, heard of the order and quietly sent word to him that he ought to hide. Dobbins did so. He slipped off to the waterfront, found an old half-sunken gun boat and secreted himself in the hull, sitting up to his neck in water. There he stayed until evening, when he ventured cautiously to come up and look around. In a few minutes he saw a lone canoe approaching, paddled by a Frenchman. Dobbins hailed him and paid a dollar to be put on board the sloop on which the paroled soldiers were going to Cleveland. The sloop was just getting under way and Dobbins was indeed welcome, not only because he was American but because no one on board knew anything about sailing or the navigation to Cleveland. Off they all went immediately.

Three days later the ship reached Cleveland where it was promptly burned, in accordance with the promise given to the British as one of the terms of parole. Captain Dobbins borrowed from a friend a small sailboat and went on to Erie, very glad to be home again after going through such real dangers.

He was the first to bring news of the surrender of Mackinac and Detroit. General David Meade, commander of the militia of northwest Pennsylvania, asked the Captain to go on to Washington and report to Secretary of War Eustis. It was important that the Government in Washington should hear the news from one who had taken part in it and could give authentic information. Furthermore, Dobbins was one who fully realized the importance of the surrender,—that it could mean the loss of the entire Northwest Territory which later became the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

After only two days with his family Dobbins took horse for Pittsburgh and Washington, which he reached in about ten days' time. Immediately he called upon the Secretary and told him the bad news. He

learned also that Fort Dearborn (Chicago) had likewise surrendered and the garrison had been massacred by Indians after surrendering. The Secretary told President Madison, who promptly called a meeting of the Cabinet and asked Dobbins to attend and to report his information.

For a week, Dobbins talked to everyone, the President, the members of the Cabinet and the Senators who happened to be still there. (Congress had adjourned a month before). His forceful eloquence impressed everyone and his plea for a Naval Force on the Great Lakes was fortified by the simple fact that everyone now realized that this war had to be fought, and fought hard, if the United States was to preserve its territory and its integrity. His simple and forceful manner of speech was backed by his wide knowledge of the frontier and of the Great Lakes. He repeatedly insisted to the President and to each member of the Cabinet separately that the Northwest Territory must be held, that only a naval force could hold it and that a fleet must be built immediately which would sweep the British from the Lakes. The army could not do this job alone; a navy was needed to accomplish this. A fleet must be built, and the best place to build it was Erie, or Presqu' Isle. At that place, he said, there was plenty of good oak for ship timbers; the harbor was enclosed so that the ships would be protected from enemy attack while building; there was good communication by road and by river with Pittsburgh; Buffalo was only a day's sail away, or a little more. There was a naval base at Black Rock, near Buffalo, but it was within range of the British cannon of Fort Erie on the Canadian shore. The Captain's eloquence, founded on the fact that he obviously knew what he was talking about, convinced the President and the Cabinet.

Therefore, on the fifteenth of September 1812, Mr. Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, gave to Dobbins these written instructions:

"You will proceed without delay to Presqu' Isle, on Lake Erie, and there contract for on the best terms in your power, all the requisite timbers and other materials for building four gunboats agreeably to the dimensions which you will receive from Commodore Tingey; and if in your power you will contract for the building of those boats, but such contracts must be submitted to Commodore Chauncey, or the officer that may be appointed by him to command the naval forces on the Lake . . . .

"To enable you to comply with the engagements you may make, you can draw on this Department for any sum not exceeding

Two Thousand Dollars. Copies of all contracts you may make, you will transmit to this Department.

For Paul Hamilton
C. W. Goldsborough

The next day, Dobbins was given a commission as Sailing Master of the United States Navy, a rank equivalent to Chief Boatswain's Mate. Then, having received all the knowledge and advice which the Department could give him, he travelled by stage to Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, and by boat to Erie. He arrived on the evening of the first of October.

The next morning the six hundred and eighty-five inhabitants of Erie were called to attend a meeting down at the mouth of Garrison Run, a small brook which is now at the foot of Peach Street. There the Captain stood in front of the men, wearing his work clothes and carrying his broad axe. He talked for perhaps fifteen minutes, explaining the whole situation. He told them that Forts Dearborn, Mackinac and Detroit had fallen; that an American force under General Stephen Rensselaer had been defeated near Niagara; that the only armed American warship on the Great Lakes, the Schooner "Adams," had been captured; that Erie was threatened by the enemy and could easily be invaded and captured; that the only protection would be a naval force and that the United States Navy was going to build a fleet of warships, right there and then. "Come on, men, let's build a fleet and whip those British!" and without waiting for a reply he picked up his axe and swung it deep into a large black oak standing there.

This timber became the keel of the "Ariel," the first of the fleet of six ships built at the new Naval Station at Erie.

Dobbins knew a great deal about ships and shipbuilding, but he was not a naval architect and admitted it. He could not design a gunboat, but he knew that gunboats were built of wood and the first step must be to cut down the trees and collect ship timbers which could be sawed and adzed into the proper shape. He employed about fifty men at first, including teamsters, sawyers, helpers, blacksmiths. Several men he ordered to cruise through the woods in search of trees which had "natural knees;" these were trees in which the trunk and the first branch were about the same size, and the branch grew out at a sharp angle to the trunk; such a piece of timber would become a part of the frame of the ship, and was much stronger than if the frame were made of two pieces bolted together. Besides, he did not have the bolts.

The pile of such ship timbers grew larger every day.

In Erie there were only half a dozen men who could claim to be ordinary house carpenters. There were no shipwrights, men who were familiar with ship building. In Buffalo, Dobbins knew of one man who was an accomplished shipwright, Mr. Ebenezer Crosby. This was the man who could design a ship, and also supervise and teach ordinary carpenters how to built it. Dobbins with his usual forceful eloquence persuaded Crosby to come to Erie and to take the task of building the fleet. The responsibility was great, and Crosby was the man for the job. He signed a contract of employment under which he was to be paid the highest rate, which was $2.50 per day, plus "good lodgings and board and one-half pint of whiskey." The working day for everyone began at sunrise (about six o'clock in early October) and lasted until sunset, with one hour off for breakfast and two hours for dinner.

There was danger of sabotage. A spy could easily have entered the shipyard at night—there were no gates nor fence—and set fire to all the timber and the ships before they were finished. To guard against this, Col. William Forster called for volunteers to act as a guard. He formed a company—the first military company of Erie, and the ancestor of the famous Company G—whose members patrolled the shipyard all the long winter nights.

There was another serious danger. It would have been easy for the British to land a force at a beach west of the city—they controlled the lake—and march in to destroy the shipyard and the ships, exactly as the Americans captured Port Dover a year later. Their only opposition would have been Col. Forster and his one small company of sixty men. Fortunately they never thought of that.

For the three months of October, November and December Dobbins and Crosby drove their men as hard as was humanly possible. No matter what the weather was, driving rain or snow or freezing slush, the men cut and hauled timber and adzed or sawed it into the shapes required for the ships. They received absolutely no cooperation from the nearest United States Naval Base at Black Rock. Dobbins once went there to report and a Lieutenant Angus told him that it was silly to try to build ships at Erie. Lieutenant Jesse Elliott, later to command the "Niagara," wrote to Dobbins that if a fleet was to be built it ought to be done at Black Rock. The naval Commandant on Lake Ontario at Sackett's Harbor was Commodore Isaac Chauncey. Dobbins had been ordered to report to him, and did so; his letters were not even acknowl-

edged. Nevertheless despite the official cold water which was thus dashed in his face Dobbins relied on the word of the Secretary of the Navy given to him in Washington, that "You will proceed without delay . . . . building four gunboats . . ." The British fleet must be driven from the lakes. The Northwest Territory must remain American.

However, the Navy Department did put pressure upon Commodore Chauncey to do something about the British threat on the upper lakes. The Commodore was principally interested, of course, in his own operations on Lake Ontario which for the three years of the war consisted of a number of threatened actions between ships which were afraid of each other. There was not one decisive naval action there. In December 1812, after Ontario was closed by ice and upon a strong suggestion from Washington Chauncey made a visit to Erie. He brought with him an excellent naval architect, Henry Eckford. They reached Erie on the 31st of December, and left two days later.

But in that two days a great deal was accomplished. In the first place, Chauncey approved highly of everything that Dobbins had done. This was the first official encouragement which Dobbins had received; until then he had been driving ahead on his own, with all his force, not knowing whether he was right or wrong or whether the Department would approve. He had already spent much more than his original budget. After all, he was really a sailor not a naval contractor. This little pat on the back was just what he needed. He slept better that night.

This is what Eckford and Chauncey found:

Sloop "Tigress," 52 tons, erect on the stocks and hull about half finished.

Sloop "Porcupine," same size and also half finished.

Sloop "Ariel," 63 tons; and Sloop "Scorpion," 52 tons.

These were all built to designs which Crosby had sketched roughly upon a piece of paper; there were no other drawings.

The keels of the last two were in place and the framing had started; Eckford made a few changes in the dimensions, which Crosby roughly drew up. He lengthened the "Scorpion" by 12 feet, increasing the size to 63 tons. The changes of design and construction could be made easily. Then Chauncey made a sensible suggestion. Looking at all the good oak timber growing everywhere he said, "Why don't we build a ship which will be as big as the biggest British ship?" He was thinking of the recent reports that the British were building at Fort De-

troit a large brig, the "Detroit." At that remark Dobbins blinked his eyes for a moment, then answered, "Why don't we build two of them?" All four men laughed aloud at that and in great good humor they made plans for the building of the Brig "Lawrence" and the Brig "Niagara." Before they left Erie Eckford gave to Crosby the rough dimensions to be followed, as well as the armament and rig. The dimensions were to be used mainly as a guide; in those days the building of a ship was determined not by blueprints, but by the timber and other materials at hand. No two ships were identical.

As the shipyard at Garrison Run (foot of Peach Street) was not large enough for building these two big brigs, Dobbins decided to build them at "The Cascade," now Cascade Creek at the foot of Cascade Street where there was a beach, a flat field and many oak trees, as well as a small cascade.

Other questions which the four discussed were the problems of manpower, of ship carpenters and shipwrights, and of crews to man the ships after they were built. Chauncey promised his help and that of the Department. After he left Erie, he went to the Navy yard at Philadelphia, and also to the Department at Washington, and arranged for the purchase of guns, anchors, canvas, and especially of iron spikes and bars for the blacksmiths. Iron was very scarce everywhere on the frontier and Dobbins had collected every bit of scrap iron which could be found in any farmer's barn. Thirty-six cannon were shipped from Washington by way of Pittsburgh; twenty-nine were sent from his own headquarters at Sackett's Harbor, although these were held at Black Rock until the British blockade there was relieved, as will be explained shortly.

Chauncey also arranged for a contingent of 200 sailors to be sent from Newport (Rhode Island), but when they arrived at Sackett's Harbor, Chauncey's naval headquarters, he kept them there to man his own fleet instead. However, best of all, he contracted with Noah Brown, the best shipbuilder in New York, to bring a force of his own shipwrights and ship carpenters out to Erie and to take charge of the work. With twenty-five trained men, Brown arrived in Erie early in March, 1813. From now on the work was speeded up. The fleet was needed quickly and soon, and the target date for completion was set for early July.

The Commodore also arranged for a shipment of oakum, rigging, hemp, iron and other necessities from Philadelphia; and from

Washington a detail of laborers and of sailors. General Mead, head of the Pennsylvania militia in Northwest Pennsylvania, was ordered to guard Erie while the fleet was being built and over one thousand troops arrived. This was a wise move as there was great danger that the enemy might land troops a few miles west of the city to attack and burn the ships.

Another effect of Chauncey's visit was that the Navy Department appointed Master Commander Oliver Hazard Perry, U.S.N., to be in full charge of all operations on Lake Erie. Perry arrived at Erie on the twenty-seventh of March, 1813. The fleet then was about half completed. He made his headquarters at Duncan's Hotel, a tavern at the corner of Third and French Streets.[1]

It was inevitable that there should be friction between the two men. Dobbins, forthright and forceful, had been pushing the work for six months in the face of the greatest difficulties of material, supply and manpower that could be imagined. Now he was to take orders from a young man, age 27, dressed meticulously in the best and gaudiest uniform of a naval officer, arrogant to the point of being overbearing, self-willed, wilful, an aristocrat from one of the oldest families in Newport, Rhode Island, a man who had the faculty of antagonizing everyone who was to work with him. Dobbins, age 36, was a natural leader of men who retained the affection and the cooperation of his followers. Perry, whose entire experience had been in the naval service (he was a midshipman at 13 in his father's warship) knew only naval discipline and the navy's way of doing things which were appropriate for the deck of a battleship but were inapplicable to the handling of men on the frontier. He was an excellent billiard player. His talents were at their greatest value after the fleet was built. As a naval officer he showed great bravery, energy and skill in using his ships. To Dobbins belongs the credit for building the fleet; to Perry the credit for using it. However, the personal antagonism between the two was not allowed to interfere with their main purpose, which was to drive the British from the Lakes.

With the arrival of Noah Brown and his carpenters the building of the fleet progressed at a rapid rate. Dobbins had collected most of the needed timber and in June the hulls of the six ships were completed. The next tasks were the fitting of spars and rigging, the sails and the

1 The Perry Memorial House, formerly the Dicksan (or Dixan) Tavern, is at the corner of Second and French Streets. On September 9, 1814, a year after Perry's victory, Mr. Dickson purchased this building lot from a Mr. Grimes for $400. The tavern was built at sometime between this date and 1828.

armament; after that, the crews and their training. Then the fleet would be ready. It was an almost superhuman job.[2]

The difficulties had been immense. In Erie there was almost no material useable for shipbuilding, except timber. Even the iron of the axes used for cutting the timber had to be brought in from Meadville. Rope and rigging were made in Pittsburgh; cannons were cast near Washington; oakum from Philadelphia; iron from Bellefonte and Buffalo; spikes from Pittsburgh. Charcoal for the blacksmiths was made by many farmers locally for fifty cents a bushel. But the greatest difficulty was that of transportation. The road to Buffalo was just a narrow track which was impassible in winter; the water route to Pittsburgh was frozen. Dobbins himself recounts the narrow escape he had in March when with three men he brought two guns, long 32-pounders, from Buffalo. The guns weighed (according to his son) 3600 pounds each and so overloaded the boat as to be very dangerous. A Lake Erie squall caught them and they nearly sank. They were saved only by the genius of Dobbins in quickly wrapping a line around the boat from fore to aft, to hold it together. Then, just as they came in sight of Erie, the British fleet saw them and gave chase. Fortunately the wind was favorable and they eluded the enemy and got home safely, with the guns.

One incident of the winter's work is an example of the way Dobbins could handle men. Once during the coldest and gloomiest time of winter there was a strike. A number of carpenters, fifteen or twenty, became dissatisfied with the gloomy weather, the continued cold, the lack of congenial companions and the general boredom of a small village on the frontier. They decided to go back east, to Philadelphia or New York. Early one morning they just walked off the job and started, on foot, to go back to civilization. Dobbins knew just how to handle such a situation. With only one companion to back him up, he mounted his horse and set out after the strikers. They were already several miles out in the country on the path to Pittsburgh when he caught up with them. One wonders just what he said. He may have mentioned mutiny, and desertion in time of war, but as these men were civilians they were not subject to military penalties. Probably he appealed to their patriotism, urging them to get the job done and done quickly in order to bring a naval victory to this country and a defeat to the British. Only

2 In 1913, after the hulk of the "Niagara" was raised from the bottom of Misery Bay, under the energetic leadership of Commdr. William L. Morrison, the hull with spars and rigging was built and completed in seven weeks' time. In 1935, as a project of the W.P.A., it required seven years for the hull only, without spars, sails or rigging; it is still incomplete.

this victory would preserve the territory of these United States. No one knows exactly what his words were, but the men returned to the shipyard and the work went on.

The British fleet at this time consisted of five ships (Chapter 13) which cruised off the harbor of Erie as a constant menace. They controlled the lake and threatened Dobbins' supplies coming from Buffalo. Their largest ship, the "Detroit" was being built at Detroit and Perry hoped that he could finish the "Lawrence" and the "Niagara" before it was completed. But the British also knew that speed was imperative and they managed to launch and rig her just before the Battle of Lake Erie.[3]

The Americans possessed five more ships which they could not use because they were blockaded in the Naval Base at Black Rock, which was within range of the guns of Fort Erie, held by the British across the Niagara River. Perry knew that these ships were vitally necessary to the American Fleet. This situation shows the wisdom of Captain Dobbins in insisting that the fleet must be built at Erie and not at Black Rock.

Major General Henry Dearborn was in command of an American army at Fort Schlosser and at Black Rock. The over-all American strategy of this war had been to win it by invading Canada and the year of 1813 was to be the decisive one. As part of the plan Gen. Dearborn was to cross the Niagara River and capture the two British forts, Fort Erie at the head and Fort George at the mouth of the Niagara River. The army attacked Fort George on May 27th, and was completely successful. In the battle, Perry was in command of a company of U. S. Marines from the Naval Base at Black Rock and showed great bravery and skill in handling his men during the attack. He was mounted on a bony old nag of a horse, borrowed from a farmer, and he wore—he always did the correct thing—the full dress uniform of a naval officer with sword, epaulettes and cocked hat.

The result of this victory was that both British forts surrendered and the way was now open to take the five ships from the navy yard up the Niagara River and into Lake Erie. This was a tremendous job requiring 200 men to haul and tow the ships against the strong current. It took two weeks to get them to Buffalo. There they were loaded with

3 In building the "Detroit," the British had as many difficulties as did Dobbins,—shortages of material, supplies, ordnance and men. However, they controlled the waterways of the Lakes and were able to bring without difficulty on ships and bateaux, everything they needed direct from York (Toronto) and Montreal. Also, their chain of command was clear-cut and there were fewer red-tape troubles.

all the munitions and material which was needed for Perry's fleet. At Perry's request, the 200 soldiers remained on the ships to act as crews in sailing them to Erie.

Perry now set sail proudly from Buffalo with his fleet of five ships. His proverbial luck was with him. The British fleet, also of five ships, was looking for him, cruising back and forth hoping to intercept him. Fortunately the weather was hazy and the visibility low, as it often is in the springtime. The fleets did not sight each other but at one time in the morning of the second day they were so close to each other that an observer on the high shore near Twenty Mile Creek could see both fleets at the same time. Perry's luck held. He reached Erie safely on the 19th of June.

The next six weeks were busy ones. All the ships in the Erie yards had been launched and the equipment which had been blockaded for so long at Buffalo could now be installed—masts, rigging, sails, guns, small arms, ammunition, anchors, food, hammocks, cables —all the many items which make up the manifold equipment of a ship of war. The crews were chosen, as far as was possible, and when there was nothing else to do they received training in handling the guns and the sails. The two hundred soldiers who had acted as crews in bringing the five ships from Buffalo still remained; Perry hoped to use them as marines. His hopes were in vain as on July tenth General Dearborn ordered them to return to Buffalo.

The entrance to the harbor of Presqu' Isle Bay had never been dredged; it was narrow and winding, and across the entrance was a sand bar over which the depth of the water was never more than six feet, and in the middle of summer perhaps only four feet. This was protection while the ships were being built, and kept the British fleet out; at the same time it kept the American fleet inside. Now the time had come to get the fleet over the bar and out into the lake.

Dobbins himself took a small boat and made soundings along the bar, to determine the deepest channel; this he marked with stakes and buoys. Next, the two big brigs were brought down the bay and anchored near the bar, to be able to give some defense in case of an attack by the enemy. Then the four smaller sloops were brought there and, one at a time, were kedged across. This operation was hard work, but not impossible. A large anchor was dropped out in the deep water and a heavy line extended from it to the windlass of the ship; half the crew worked the windlass and the others ran from one side to the

other to rock the ship. In this way each one was slowly dragged over the bar and anchored outside where she could act to defend the others.

The brigs "Lawrence" and "Niagara" were eight times the size of the other ships. This was the first week of August and the water level, as is usual at that time of year, was very low; the wind was from the east and it is probable that there was not more than four and one-half or five feet of water over the entrance bar. Both ships were too big to kedge across; how was it to be done?

Noah Brown knew how to do it. He designed and built two empty scows, each fifty feet long, ten feet wide and eight feet deep, sturdy and water tight, with two plugged holes in the bottom and two large hand-powered pumps. These were placed alongside the "Lawrence," the plugs pulled out and the scows allowed to sink; when they had gone down to the necessary depth, the plugs were inserted, and heavy beams were placed across the scows and through the gunports of the brig. When all was secure the task of pumping out the scows began and as the pumping progressed the scows gradually lifted the brig higher and higher.

The sheer muscular hard work of this operation cannot be exaggerated. It was more than just the pumping; first there was the job of unshipping the guns and taking them to the beach. Then the anchors and the canvas and all heavy equipment were loaded into small boats, rowed ashore and unloaded; then the guns were arranged on the beach in such a way that from a distance they would appear to be a formidable shore battery, to fool the British if they should come. Several hundred men, including officers, foremen, shipwrights and soldiers, everyone who could do anything at all, labored day and night, without let-up, to get the fleet across. Dobbins was the leader, and his shouts of encouragement could be heard, they said, for a mile. "Come on, you men, HEAVE!" Day and night for four days the work went forward. For three nights Perry and Dobbins had no sleep at all and little rest. The men were exhausted, but still they worked on.

The "Lawrence" was lifted first, then towed (by oar power) to the bar. There it was discovered that the water was still too shallow and it was necessary to tow her back into deep water, again sink the scows to a deeper level and do the job all over again. This was discouraging, especially to exhausted men, but they did it and the second try was successful. The "Lawrence" was across the bar and was anchored outside in the lake, in deep water. Now it was the turn of the

"Niagara." This time they sank the scows deep enough to lift the ship over the bar at the first try. Then—just as they were on top of the bar—the British fleet appeared.

Here again Perry's luck held. It was just after sunrise; as always, there is a mist over the waters in August at that time of day. Visibility was not clear. From the mast head the lookouts of the leading British ship, the "Lady Provost," could see the American fleet only against the background of the high bluff of the shore. All the ships fortunately were headed in the same direction and it looked to the British as if the fleet were outside the harbor and at anchor; they could not know that the two brigs had no guns aboard, and that the "Niagara" was stuck halfway across the bar. Captain Barclay, the British commander, wisely would not dare a battle against a fleet which was anchored under the protection of shore batteries. He gave the order to change course and the fleet sailed away to Long Point, and from there to Fort Malden in the Detroit River. There it stayed until it came out to give battle six weeks later. Perry's luck . . . .

As soon as the enemy turned away, work continued even faster than before. They heaved the "Niagara" over the bar. Next they put all the guns and the equipment back on board all the ships. It was heavy work for men who had had no rest since the operation began, but by midnight of the fourth day it was finished. Perry now had the fleet which Daniel Dobbins had promised to President Madison ten months before.

Only two days later, for the purpose of training the men, the entire fleet set sail on a "shake down cruise" around Lake Erie. But this was a mere gesture, as Perry had only skeleton crews. The ships were only half-manned and in no condition to fight a fleet action. Where could he get men?

The enlistment of volunteers had been going on for months and it is safe to say that every man in this section of the country who was able to enlist, had joined either the crews or the militia which was guarding the fleet. Many of the militia volunteered to become the marines of the fleet and were distributed among the ships. From General Harrison's army in western Ohio came fifty Kentucky sharpshooters, who were detailed to man the tops (about forty feet above the decks) from which vantage they proved their worth in the coming battle. Perry was frantic to obtain men; his letters to Commodore Chauncey were ignored as the Commodore was intent upon his own

operations on Lake Ontario. The Navy Department wrote letter after letter to Perry, insistent that he take the fleet out and cooperate with General Harrison in a campaign to recover Fort Detroit. But Perry could not move with his ships barely half-manned.

As has been said, Perry had an active faculty for making personal enemies. One of them was Lieut. Jesse Elliott, in command of the Naval Base at Black Rock. Elliott was the one who had told Dobbins that he was a fool to build a fleet at Erie. His relations with Perry were no more cordial and eventually reached the point of a formal challenge to a duel. No love nor admiration existed between these two. While Perry needed men, Elliott sat at Black Rock (Buffalo) refusing to cooperate.

This impasse was resolved by the Navy Department. They sent to Elliott orders that he was to proceed to Erie and serve under Perry, and was to take with him as many men as he could; they sweetened this order by promoting him to the rank of Master-Commander, the same rank that Perry held. On the tenth of August, without a word of advance notice he suddenly arrived and reported to Perry, bringing with him ninety men and twelve petty officers and midshipmen, all trained naval personnel. They were quite a contrast to the farmers, woodsmen and teamsters whom Perry had been trying to whip into shape as crews.

At last he had the ships, the guns, and the sailors. He was ready.

13

THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

The "War of 1812" between England and the United States was given that name, presumably, for the reason that 1812 was the year in which Congress actually passed the official Declaration of War. The date is not entirely accurate. It can be said that this war really started when the British warship "Leopard" attacked the United States Ship "Chesapeake" in 1807. Furthermore, the principal engagements were fought in 1813, the Treaty of Peace was drawn up and signed in 1814, and the final battles—there were several of them—were in 1815. At the time, people referred to it as "Mr. Madison's War," or the "Second War for Independence," or the "War for Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." Relatively little of importance happened in 1812 but the historians prefer that name and date.

In this war the Americans thought that an attack against Canada was the best strategy and the quickest blow against the British Government. People believed that Canada really ought to be a part of the United States. As a matter of record, this could easily have happened. In 1783 while the American and the British Commissioners were dickering over the terms of a peace treaty, Benjamin Franklin suggested as one of the conditions that England ought to cede Canada to the United States. As a matter of fact, King George III and Prime Minister Lord North had no especial love for that land; they had taken it from France in 1763, only twenty years before, and it was an unfriendly colony which paid no taxes into the Exchequer. It was a cold

and distant country, frozen for several months each year, filled with people who spoke and were French. The English really did not want it and would have given it up readily. But of the three American Commissioners, only Franklin was enthusiastic and the other two were not interested enough to support him. The suggestion was abandoned in the discussions.

The attack on Canada was to be made by three armies. One army was to march against Montreal, advancing up the Hudson; another was to cross at Buffalo and capture York (Toronto); the third under Gen. William Henry Harrison was to invade from the west after capturing Detroit. It was this army which was so impatiently waiting for Perry and the Lake Erie fleet, as it was helpless as long as the British controlled the lake. The Navy Department in Washington wrote to Perry many times telling him in forceful words that he must take action; in fact one such letter was so strong in its language that Perry lost his temper and sent in his resignation, saying that he simply could not move until he could get crews to man his ships. Half the summer had been spent by Perry waiting for crews.

In the few weeks before the battle, Perry gave his men as much training as possible. Communications between ships were only visual, and the following is the entire list of signals from the flagship to the other ships:

One gun—under way to get.
Green at the fore—form the order of sailing ahead.
Green at the main—form the order of sailing abreast.
Green at the main peak—form the order of battle on the starboard tack.
Green in the fore rigging—ditto, on the larboard tack.
Green in the main rigging—close more the present order.
White at the fore—open more the present order.
White at the main—tack.
White at the main peak—follow the motions of the flagship.
Ensign at the main gaff—engage the enemy.
White at the main, with stop in the middle—chase.
Ensign in the fore rigging—repair on board flagship, all commanders.
Green and white at main gaff—come within hail.

Those thirteen signals were the only orders which the commanding officer of the fleet could give to his ships.

It was now August and Perry was ready. He took the fleet up the lake to Sandusky, near General William Henry Harrison's headquarters, and anchored off shore. In a few days the General himself came on board with all his staff. They brought with them twenty Indian chieftains for the purpose of impressing them with the size and strength of the American fleet and of countering the idea that only the British had big war canoes. This was good propaganda.

Perry's next move was to sail over to the mouth of the Detroit River and show his fleet to the British who were at anchor at Malden which is now Amherstburg, Ontario, twenty miles below the City of Detroit. He hoped to tempt them to come out and fight. Wisely the British refused; they were still working to complete the armament of their newest and biggest ship, the "Detroit," and they were not quite ready.

The biggest difficulty the British had was the fact that they were at the end of a long supply line; all their food and equipment came from the east, York (Toronto) and Montreal; their nearest bases were at Port Dover and Long Point, almost 200 miles away. There were no roads along the shore. All supplies had to be brought to the fleet by water.

Understanding their problem, Perry brought his fleet back to Put-in-Bay, Middle Bass Island, a safe and pleasant harbor about forty miles from Malden. From there he controlled all the traffic on the western end of the lake and could thus cut the supply line of the British fleet. This was a clever move. Soon the shortage of food of the British crews became serious; in fact on the day of the battle they had, so they claimed afterward, only one day's supply of flour left. Although many men were incapacitated by illness, they were forced to come out and fight.

The sick list of the British on the day of the battle was probably equal to that of the Americans. They too were troubled by bad food and consequent illness. In the hot weather of August much of the beef and pork had spoiled. On the day of the battle 116 men were reported sick, about one-fifth of the total force. The fleet needed supplies of fresh food.

Dobbins had been assigned by Perry to the command of the Schooner "Ohio," 62 tons, two guns. This was almost the smallest ship in the fleet. Dobbins rightfully felt that he deserved to receive command of one of the two big brigs, the "Lawrence" or the "Niagara." This would have seemed reasonable to any man but Perry, because

Dobbins was the best navigator and sailor on the lakes and was the man originally chosen by President Madison to build the fleet. But Perry was guided by his stubborn antagonism toward Dobbins, and placed him where he could least interfere. This was to be Perry's show.

The fleet needed fresh provisions, and Perry sent Dobbins back to Erie in the sloop "Ohio" to get them. By luck, this happened to be the time that the British chose to come out and give battle. Dobbins thus did not take part in the actual fight; on that day he was near Erie, 140 miles away. He claimed afterward that he could hear the firing of the guns, a statement which is difficult to believe.

The two fleets were almost exactly equal in size. The American fleet, not counting the sloop "Ohio," consisted of:

Lawrence	260 tons	20 guns
Niagara	260 "	20 "
Caledonia	85 "	3 "
Tigress	52 "	1 "
Somers	85 "	2 "
Scorpion	63 "	2 "
Ariel	63 "	3 "
Porcupine	52 "	1 "
Trippe	63 "	1 "

Total: 9 ships, 983 tons, 53 guns, 532 men

The British fleet, which officially was called the "Provincial Marine" in the Admiralty in London, consisted of:

Detroit	298 tons	19 guns
Queen Charlotte	260 "	17 "
Lady Provost	96 "	13 "
Hunter	71 "	10 "
Little Belt	60 "	3 "
Chippeway	35 "	1 "

Total: 6 ships, 820 tons, 63 guns, 522 men

The two fleets thus appear to have been about equal in size. The Americans had three more ships than the British, but they were small, mounting only one gun each. The important measure of the power of a fleet is the number and weight of guns, and whether they are effective at long or at short range. For long range, the British had guns which threw a weight of 195 pounds of metal, whereas the American guns could throw 288 pounds. This is not a great difference. But at short range the weight of the American broadside was 900

pounds of metal, while the British fired only 460 pounds. Therefore, it can be clearly seen that the American tactics called for a battle to be fought at short range. In the ensuing fight, the twenty guns of the "Niagara" were in close action only during the final fifteen minutes.

Another interesting fact is that this was definitely a young man's fleet. Perry was 27 years old; Dobbins was 36. The average age of the American officers was 23, and of the warrant officers 20. This is reported by Dr. Ushur Parsons, the only surgeon in the fleet. The command of the "Lawrence," the flagship, was taken by Perry himself, and he gave to Elliott the command of the "Niagara."

It was sunrise on Friday, the tenth of September, 1813. The fleet was at anchor in the snug harbor of Put-in-Bay. The island was low, and the masts of the "Lawrence" showed above it. As the light grew brighter, the lookout at the masthead shouted down to the deck "Sail Ho!". "Where away?" answered Lieut. Forrest, who was the officer of the deck. "Northwest, Sir" was the reply, "and I see several ships." Northwest was the direction of the Detroit River. It was the British fleet.

One gun was fired as the signal "under way to get" and quickly all the ships left the harbor and formed up in line. The wind was very light and both fleets approached each other at slow speed. Perry noted carefully the order of the British ships, and changed his own order accordingly. He signalled to the "Niagara" to take third place in line behind the "Lawrence" and the "Caledonia." His plan was the standard plan of fleet action, used for centuries, which consisted in placing the bigger ships against those of the enemy which were of the same size. He planned that the "Lawrence" would fight the "Detroit," the "Niagara" against the "Queen Charlotte," the "Caledonia" against the "Hunter," and that the smaller ships would nip in wherever they could, as none of them was large enough to sustain a broadside. Only the previous evening, Perry had summoned all officers for a consultation and given them his plan of battle. He quoted Lord Nelson to the effect that "If you lay the enemy close alongside, you won't be out of your place." Perry had studied carefully Nelson's tactics at the battle of Trafalgar, with profit.

As planned by Perry, the line of battle with the opposing ships was to have been this:

American		British	
Scorpion			
Ariel	Lawrence	Detroit	Chippewa
	Calendonia	Hunter	
	Niagara	Queen Charlotte	
	Tigress	Lady Provost	
	Somers		
	Porcupine	Little Belt	
	Trippe		

Slowly the fleets approached each other. The breeze was only 3 miles an hour, giving barely steerage way. All morning they seemed merely to drift, although they came closer and closer. Dinner was served to all, on both fleets. It is a British custom that men must never fight on an empty stomach. Dinner and grog, and enjoy it if you can. Battle is imminent.

It was not until twelve o'clock that they came within range. The British opened fire first. The "Lawrence" followed Perry's plan and closed in to attack the "Detroit," giving and receiving broadside after broadside. The smaller ships, the "Ariel" and "Scorpion" supported the "Lawrence," and the "Caledonia" fought the "Lady Provost." It was a general scrimmage. The other smaller ships, which were slow sailors, came up to the smaller ships of the British and engaged them. But where was the "Niagara?"

As the action was joined, the "Niagara" deliberately stayed out of range. No one knows the reason for this; it might have been Elliott's personal jealousy of Perry. It was later claimed that there was not enough wind, although there was enough to bring the "Lawrence," her sister ship, into the action. It could not have been cowardice; the reason probably was that Elliott considered Perry an inexperienced fool to bring his ship into such close intense action, and he thought that the battle could be better fought at longer range. At any rate, the "Niagara" stayed on the edge of the action, using only her two long range carronades, and unable to reach the enemy with her eighteen 32-pound short range carronades. As a result of this, the "Queen Charlotte" and "Lady Provost" moved forward and also attacked the "Lawrence." The "Hunter" shook off the "Caledonia," which had only 3 guns, and joined in. Thus the "Lawrence" was receiving broadsides from four ships at once, at close range, with terrible effect. "Lawrence" versus "Detroit," "Queen Charlotte," "Hunter" and "Lady Provost;"

20 guns against 59.

For two long hours the men of the "Lawrence" fought against such odds. From noon until about two o'clock until not a gun was able to fire and hardly a man could walk the deck. Of the crew of 101 men, 83 were dead or wounded. Both sides ceased firing, the "Lawrence" because she had to, the British because their opponent could not reply. It was a lull, each side watching to see what the other would do next. The "Niagara" was still there on the weather bow of the "Lawrence," about a quarter of a mile away, untouched.

Perry had a dramatic inspiration. He found four men who were still unwounded, to act as a boat's crew. Then he hauled down his personal battle flag "Don't Give Up the Ship" (which the ladies of Erie had made for him at his request) and throwing it over his shoulder embarked in a small boat and was rowed over to the "Niagara." The American flag remained flying at the masthead of the "Lawrence," but a few minutes after Perry left Lieut. Yarnall lowered it. The "Lawrence" had surrendered.

When Perry stepped on board the "Niagara," there was no time for the dramatic approach. He politely requested Elliott to go back to the smaller and slower gunboats and to bring them into the battle. Without a word, Elliott stepped in the boat and was rowed away. Perry then gave the orders which brought victory.

At Trafalgar, eight years before, Nelson had upset naval traditions by charging across and breaking the enemy line of battle. This tactic, in today's naval warfare, is called "crossing the T." Perry had studied Nelson's methods and he now imitated them. He drove the "Niagara" down across the enemy's battle line.

His luck was with him still. The "Niagara's" starboard broadside was poured into the "Detroit" and the "Queen Charlotte," the port broadside into the "Lady Provost" and the "Chippewa," all at "half pistol shot" distance, which meant within about fifty yards. The "Caledonia" followed, engaging the "Hunter." The British ships tried to turn to meet this attack. But the rudder of the "Lady Provost" had been shattered by a lucky shot, and she was helpless; the other three ships attempted to turn and in doing so fouled each other; the "Detroit" rammed the bowsprit of the "Queen Charlotte" and tangled there; the "Chippewa" was so close to the "Detroit" that she was becalmed and could not steer. Then the "Niagara" turned about to run back through the line again. Broadside after broadside was poured into the

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY

enemy, and that was the end. Fifteen minutes after Perry had stepped on board the "Niagara," a British officer stood on the bulwarks of the "Detroit" and waved a white towel tied to a boarding pike, to indicate surrender. The other British ships followed suit, each waving something white. Firing ceased. There was a fervent silence upon the waters. The battle was over.

Perry however was observant. He noticed that the British flag was still flying on the flagship, the "Detroit." He pointed to it, and a British officer waved in reply. Captain Barclay, that true British sea dog, had had it nailed to the mast that morning and it was impossible to lower it. The officer sent a sailor up the rigging to tear it off.

Elliott now returned to the "Niagara" and Perry, in order to keep out of his way and to indulge his sense of the dramatic, rowed back to the wreck of the "Lawrence." There at four o'clock exactly, he

received the formal surrender of the British officers. Captain Barclay had been wounded and sent his sword to Perry by Lieutenant O'Keefe. The Commanding officers of each ship came aboard and tendered their swords, which Perry gravely and nobly declined to accept. It was a dramatic scene, although for audience there were only the sixteen survivors of the crew, and the only music was the groaning of the 61 wounded down on the berth deck. But the drama was there, in the simple fact that this is the only time in history when an entire British fleet surrendered at one time.

Now came the task of cleaning up and repairing all ships, and counting the survivors. The dead (except the officers) were thrown overboard. In the American fleet Dr. Ushur Parsons was the only medical man. The wounded had been brought down to his cockpit and after receiving first aid had been laid out on the berth deck. Now, after the battle, he could give them more attention. He had an excellent idea. "In order to lessen the pain," he wrote afterwards, "I called for pans of scalding hot water and I dipped the instruments into them before I used them." He did not realize it, but he was sterilizing his tools. He was proud of the fact that "All the wounded but three recovered safely, which was due," he continued, "to the salubrity of the lake climate." Besides the climate and the sterilization, another reason was the arrival of Captain Dobbins with a shipload of fresh vegetables and meat.

The casualty lists were made out. The American loss totaled 27 men, of whom 22 were on the "Lawrence" and 2 on the "Niagara;" wounded, 96, of whom 61 were on the "Lawrence" and 23 on the Niagara. The British loss was 41 killed and 94 wounded.

The next day both fleets sailed, as best they could, to Put-in-Bay and there anchored. The following day, the Sabbath, a joint funeral was held for the three American and three English officers who had been killed. Perry succeeded in making it a most dramatic spectacle with solemn music from the British bands, guards of honor from both sides and compulsory attendance by every sailor who was not wounded. The service of the Episcopal church was read alternately by chaplains of both fleets.

The joy of the whole country in this victory was immense. Perry became a national hero, and has been one ever since. With bonfires, banquets, celebrations, speeches, ceremonial swords—the whole country was wild with enthusiasm. Congress gave a vote of thanks

to Perry; the President gave to him and to Elliott special gold medals; a silver medal was given to each commissioned officer; a sword to every sailing master and midshipman, and in addition, three months' pay to everyone. But Daniel Dobbins got nothing.

The prize money was based on the value of the ships captured; this was set at $255,000. Of this Perry and Elliott each received $7,140. In addition Congress decreed an additional $5,000 to Perry. Every man received something; the lowest share was $209, for a sailor. Daniel Dobbins got nothing.

Perry accepted with dignity the honors which were given to him everywhere. There is no question but that he deserved the medals, the money, the swords, the promotion to Post Captain. He had upheld the best traditions of the United States Navy. But never did he or anyone else mention that some credit was owed to the foresight, the driving force, the integrity of Daniel Dobbins. Perry never mentioned his name. When Dobbins quietly requested that he be given a share of the prize money, he received a flat refusal. He got nothing.

The first effect of this victory was that it was now possible for the American army under General Harrison to advance into Canada, which it promptly did. Perry, having nothing else to do, went along as aide to the General. At the Battle of the Thames, fifty miles east of Detroit, the British army under General Proctor was decisively defeated and their ally Tecumseh, the powerful Indian chief, was killed.

Perry now returned to the fleet, and with the "Lawrence" acting as a hospital ship for the wounded, sailed to Erie. He had somehow arranged with the Navy Department that Captain Barclay, who had been wounded in the battle, should be paroled and allowed to return to his home in England. They landed at Erie on the 22nd of October, six weeks after the battle. Perry, who always had an eye for the dramatic, marched up the street to the cheers of all the people, thoughtfully assisting the British Captain with his arm. They went to his old headquarters at Duncan's Tavern, at Third and French Streets. That evening the excited citizens held a huge celebration, including speeches by the Burgess and a torchlight parade, with much noise and jollification. The whole city was illuminated, which meant that every house put a candle in its front window. Perry solicitously requested the noise-makers to keep away from Duncan's Tavern, as it might disturb his wounded enemy.

The next day Perry left Erie, never to return. He travelled to the

eastern states, receiving everywhere the adulation of the people with banquets, ceremonial presentations of swords and medals and addresses of thanks. Everywhere he acknowledged these praises with becoming dignity. He continued his service in the Navy and died seven years later, on his 34th birthday.

The war progressed, but not always favorably. In the next few months after the battle the fleet was reduced by one-half:—the "Lawrence" and the "Detroit" were damaged beyond repair; the "Ariel" and "Chippewa" were wrecked; the "Somers," the "Ohio," the "Trippe" and the "Little Belt" were re-captured by the British. Furthermore, a force of British and Canadians attacked and burned Black Rock and Buffalo on New Years Eve, December 31, 1813.

This attack was retaliation; eight months before, on April 27, 1813 a force of American troops and sailors under Commodore Chauncey had attacked York (Toronto) the capital city of Canada, captured it, defeated the British troops, looted many of the homes and burned the Parliament buildings to the ground. The Americans then returned to their base at Sackett's Harbor, at the east end of Lake Ontario.

There was great excitement in Erie at the news that the enemy held Buffalo, and many expected the British to march down the shore of the lake to capture and burn the city. Some citizens removed their families to the interior of the county.[1]

Colonel John B. Campbell was in command of the army forces at Erie. He conceived a plan to retaliate for the burning of Buffalo by burning the flour mills at Port Dover, across the lake. Accordingly on May 14, 1814 a force of 650 men under his command crossed to the Canadian shore, landed about two miles from the Port and systematically destroyed, without any opposition, 3 flour mills, 3 saw mills, 3 distilleries, 20 houses and 12 barns. They spared but one house, and that for the considerate reason that the inmate was a sick woman. Every other building between Patterson Creek and Turkey Point was destroyed. The army then returned to Erie in glory.

This minor expedition had interesting and far-reaching repercussions. A few days later, June ninth to be exact Major General Riall, Commander, British Forces Niagara Frontier (who had captured Buffalo) wrote a letter to Col. Campbell, in which he said ". . . I have it in

1 One morning in March an excited child ran along French Street shouting that the soldiers at the Fort had sighted the British Fleet approaching. An elderly gentleman, a brave patriot, rushed out, filled his hat full of stones and ran to the bluff overlooking the harbor, declaring that he was going to sink the entire British fleet. The "fleet" turned out to be a local fishing boat.

command to request from you an explicit declaration whether those acts were authorized by the Government of the United States . . ."

There was a trick in this letter; if the Americans had acted in accordance with written instructions from their headquarters, then it was an act of war and the British could lawfully retaliate with equal means and methods; if, however, it had been an act of the individuals involved, then it was piracy, and punishable as such by either side, or by both. Actually, the idea was Campbell's and he acted on his own initiative entirely; however, he believed that he had acted in accordance with the latitude allowed him in his general instructions, which were to attack and harass the enemy wherever possible. Flour mills and whiskey distilleries produced material of war; to destroy them would be to harass the enemy. His answer was carefully phrased as follows:

Major Gen'l Riall
Commng B. Forces
Niagara Frontier

Sir:

I have had the honor of receiving your communication of the 9th instant. I commanded the detachment of the United States Army which lately made a landing at Dover on Lake Erie. What was done at that place and its vicinity proceeded from my orders. The whole business was planned by myself & executed upon my own responsibility.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your very humble servant
John B. Campbell
CO: 11th Regt. U.S. Inft.

Therefore, this attack was an act of war and the British were entitled to retaliate with equal severity and methods. On the 25th of August, 1814 therefore, the British attacked Washington, D. C. and burned several of the public buildings, including the White House. This was done deliberately, after the reply of Col. Campbell had been forwarded to the commander of the British fleet. In effect it established a precedent for conducting war ruthlessly without respect for the property of private individuals.

The last activity of the Great Lakes fleet was to attack Fort Mackinac, where the war had started. In June, 1814 they sailed to

Detroit and there picked up 1100 troops. On the 25th of July they reached Mackinac and attempted to recapture it in the same way that the British, two years before, had captured it when Daniel Dobbins was there on his schooner, the "Salina." They landed in the rear of the fort. But the British knew that plan—in fact they are the ones who had originated it—and the American forces were decisively defeated and driven away. The fleet returned to Erie.

The War of 1812 was about to end. American and British Peace Commissioners met in June in Ghent, Belgium, to discuss terms of peace. Both sides felt that it was becoming a futile war. The Americans realized that the huge armies which had defeated Napoleon Bonaparte were now unoccupied, out of a job, and could be sent across the Atlantic to fight against them. The British were learning that war is an expensive luxury. The Commissioners dickered amicably for six tedious months. One of the terms suggested by the British was the creation of a buffer state between Canada and the United States, embracing the territory which was called the Northwest Territory, consisting now of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. This was to be occupied only by Indians. The Americans rejected this instantly on the grounds that Perry's victory had preserved United States' ownership of this land.

But gradually both sides worked out the terms of the treaty, although there was not a word in it about the real causes of the war. It was formally signed on Christmas Eve, 1814. As Lord Gambier gave the signed copies to John Quincy Adams, he said, "I beg to express for His Majesty and for his government, Sir, the hope that this arrangement will be a permanent one." Adams replied, "Sir, we all hope and pray that it will." They shook hands.

The fleet now returned to its naval base at Erie and became inactive. In 1825 the base was abandoned and the ships were either sunk or sold. However, the armament of the fleet had one more public part to play. When the Erie Canal, now called the New York State Barge Canal, was opened in that year from Albany to Buffalo, the cannon were placed along the canal ten miles apart. When the first ship entered at Buffalo and the canal was thus officially opened, the guns were fired as a signal. In this way the news reached Albany in only one hour and twenty minutes.

14

UNITED STATES SIDE-WHEEL TOPSAIL SCHOONER-OF-WAR "MICHIGAN"

RE-NAMED USS "WOLVERINE"

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■ ■ ■ In 1815 after peace had settled upon our international relations and the problems of the War of 1812 were being ameliorated, Mr. James Monroe, Secretary of State, with the acquiescence of the President, wrote to our Minister to the Court of St. James at London, Mr. John Quincy Adams, suggesting that he call upon Lord Castlereagh, Prime Minister, and discuss the question of a reasonable limitation of naval armaments upon the Great Lakes. This was timely, as the British government was facing the age-old problem of what to do with the veterans, army and navy, now that Napoleon had been defeated. There were rumors that they might be shipped to Canada to increase the armed forces there. Monroe in his instructions to Adams added, "The smaller the number of ships, the more agreeable it is to me."

Lord Castlereagh replied that there were several questions still to be settled, especially those relating to the fisheries as well as that of armaments and he would instruct his Minister in Washington, the Right Honorable Charles Bagot, to discuss these matters.

The discussions went on for two years but were conducted in friendly fashion, with pleasant week-ends together and cordial visits of wives and families. There could be no haste, considering the time then required for a letter to reach England (four weeks) and its reply (another four weeks). The discussions were carried on between Mr. Bagot and Mr. Richard Rush, then Acting Secretary of State. After two

years (in 1817) they reached agreement. But there was no treaty, no ratified convention. This was an agreement between gentlemen and consisted merely of a letter written from one gentleman to another. Technically it is called an "Aide Memoire." Mr. Bagot wrote to Mr. Rush, stating exactly what armament the British would maintain on the Great Lakes. Mr. Rush sent to Mr. Bagot on the same day an identical letter. The total naval armament was not to exceed one warship on each of the Great Lakes, of not over 100 tons burden, armed with one gun only.

There is no "Rush-Bagot Treaty." It is only this letter from one gentleman to another gentleman, which has maintained for a century and a half unquestioned peace along three thousand miles of unguarded border.

There is a parallel here in Pennsylvania history: William Penn's treaty with the Indians is the only treaty which was never sworn to, and never broken.

Therefore, the American fleet on Lake Erie was dismantled. The "Lawrence" and the "Niagara" were sunk in Misery Bay. The other vessels were sold to individuals who converted them to commercial uses. The "Detroit" was also sunk, but in 1835 was raised and used for some years as a bark-rigged commercial vessel. It ended its days as a grand spectacle: it was set on fire on a Fourth of July and sent over Niagara Falls.

Relations between Canada and the United States continued smoothly until the Canadian Rebellion, which began in 1837. Canada then was not a Dominion nor a Federation, but was a Province of the Crown administered by a governor sent from England, exactly as the thirteen American Colonies had been governed before the American Revolution. Some of the Governors were rapacious—one of them once gave away 100,000 acres of land to his friends—some were foolish; most of them were unable to comprehend the fact that the Canadian people wanted the same kind of liberty which their southern neighbors had. There was an impelling demand for freedom from the yoke of England, spearheaded by two impassioned radicals, William Lyon MacKenzie among the Scotch-Irish of Ontario, and Jacques Papineau among the French-Canadiens in Quebec.

It was natural that citizens of the United States should sympathize with their northern neighbors who were seeking liberty. This sympathy was expressed in meetings of encouragement, resolutions, dona-

tions, and similar passive evidences of interest. But there were also actual armed bands which had the sworn and avowed purpose of invading Canada and assisting the patriots there in armed rebellion to drive out the British just as we had done in 1776. One such group, or gang, crossed the border at the Niagara River and seized Navy Island opposite Tonawanda, New York, which was a small and inactive shipyard owned by the Canadian government.

To oppose such gangs and to protect its own borders, the British had to organize and take action. They hired small patrol vessels and filled them with armed soldiers; they began to strengthen several forts along the border in which they could station troops; they discussed sending 15,000 additional troops to Canada. It was a serious situation; month after month the pot boiled. The Canadian border was seething with discontent.

The United States Senate was not unaware of the unrest. On August 3rd, 1841, the Hon. William Allen of Ohio proposed an amendment to the Fortifications Bill which would appropriate $100,000 "for the construction of armed steamers upon the waters of Lake Erie . . . . for the defense of Lake Erie and for the purpose of making our force equal to that of the British Government, whose steamers are cruising along our coast, prying into its exposed parts." Such florid oratory was effective and the amendment passed. Thus was conceived the USS "Michigan."

The Navy Department of that day must have been managed by radicals, for they came up with two ideas which were revolutionary: that a warship could be built of iron, and that it could have an auxiliary steam engine to assist it to move in and out of harbors. These ideas seemed queer to most people, because iron would sink while wood would float; and as for steam power, after allowing space for the engines and for coal there would be no room for anything else.

Iron was an unfamiliar medium to shipbuilders. The lines of this ship as viewed with the eye of the technique of today may seem to be antiquated, as they follow exactly those of the old wooden sailing vessels, except for the lines of the bow which clearly predict the clipper ships of twenty years later. There was little knowledge of load-bearing capacity of formed iron shapes. The plating was not relied upon for structural strength. I-beams were unknown. The loads were carried by T-bar frames and box keelsons. Pure charcoal iron is the material

used throughout.[1] The sheets were placed in a bed of sand and pounded into shape by hand with wooden mauls—a super-blacksmith's job!

The ship's bottom was flat. The keel was insignificant, projecting only four inches. The load was carried on five hollow box-keelsons, each 12 inches by 24 inches. The effect was that of a ship built upon five keels with the keels inside the skin of the ship. After all, that is where the skeleton belongs.

The "Michigan's" complement consisted of eleven officers and 87 men. The rig was barkentine, three masts, later changed to topsail schooner. The armament was to have been twelve 32-pound carronades plus two of the new Paixhan 8-inch 68-pounders, smooth bored, which were not swiveled but "pivoted." These were placed on the forecastle and quarter-deck and represented an innovation in offensive gun power in that they could fire with either broadside. The coal bunkers, containing 120 tons of coal, shielded the engines and boilers by extending the whole length of the engine room from deck to keelson, three feet wide (or thick). These bunkers and the hammock nettings were the only defensive shelter in the entire ship. The hammock nettings were troughs on the deck rail, at head height, in which the crew's hammocks were secured when not in use; they were as effective as armor, and more so. Pipes of live steam ran from the boilers, to be used in repelling boarders.

The original two boilers were made of iron, each with 810 brass tubes; no one seemed to worry about electrolysis. They operated under pressure of 15½ pounds and gave the ship a speed of 8 nautical miles per hour when the engines revolved 18⅓ turns per minute.

The engine was a two-cylinder inclined direct-acting simple condensing steam engine; the cylinders were 36 inches in diameter, and the stroke was 8 feet. The whole engine weighed 196,000 pounds; it cost exactly 24 cents per pound. The admission of steam was beautifully controlled by the then new Sickel's Cut-Off Valve, the first poppet valve for steam.

This valve was a beautiful mechanism, but there is one thing it could not do. It could not be reversed. The engineers always dreaded the bell to go astern because it meant the back-breaking job of lifting the valves by hand with a long ten-foot lever, first one cylinder then the other, in perfect synchronization; if the engineer on one cylinder missed

1 The specifications called it "Juniata Iron," equal to the best Swedish iron. It was mined in central Pennsylvania.

his turn, the engine stopped. This added much to the interest in docking the ship!

The engine frame was built of 14-inch square timbers, inclined at an angle of 20½ degrees, covered with a solid slab of cast iron. This slab was 2 inches thick, 22 feet long, and 2 feet wide. It was absolutely straight and flat. It kept the main bearings and cylinders in exact line. I highly admire and I humbly praise the ability of those workmen of 1842 who with hand tools, with little technique but with high skill, could produce such a casting, ship it 150 miles by oxcart and have it last a century of continuous use.

Such was the construction of the United States Iron Barkentine which was built in 1842 and named the U.S.S. "Michigan."

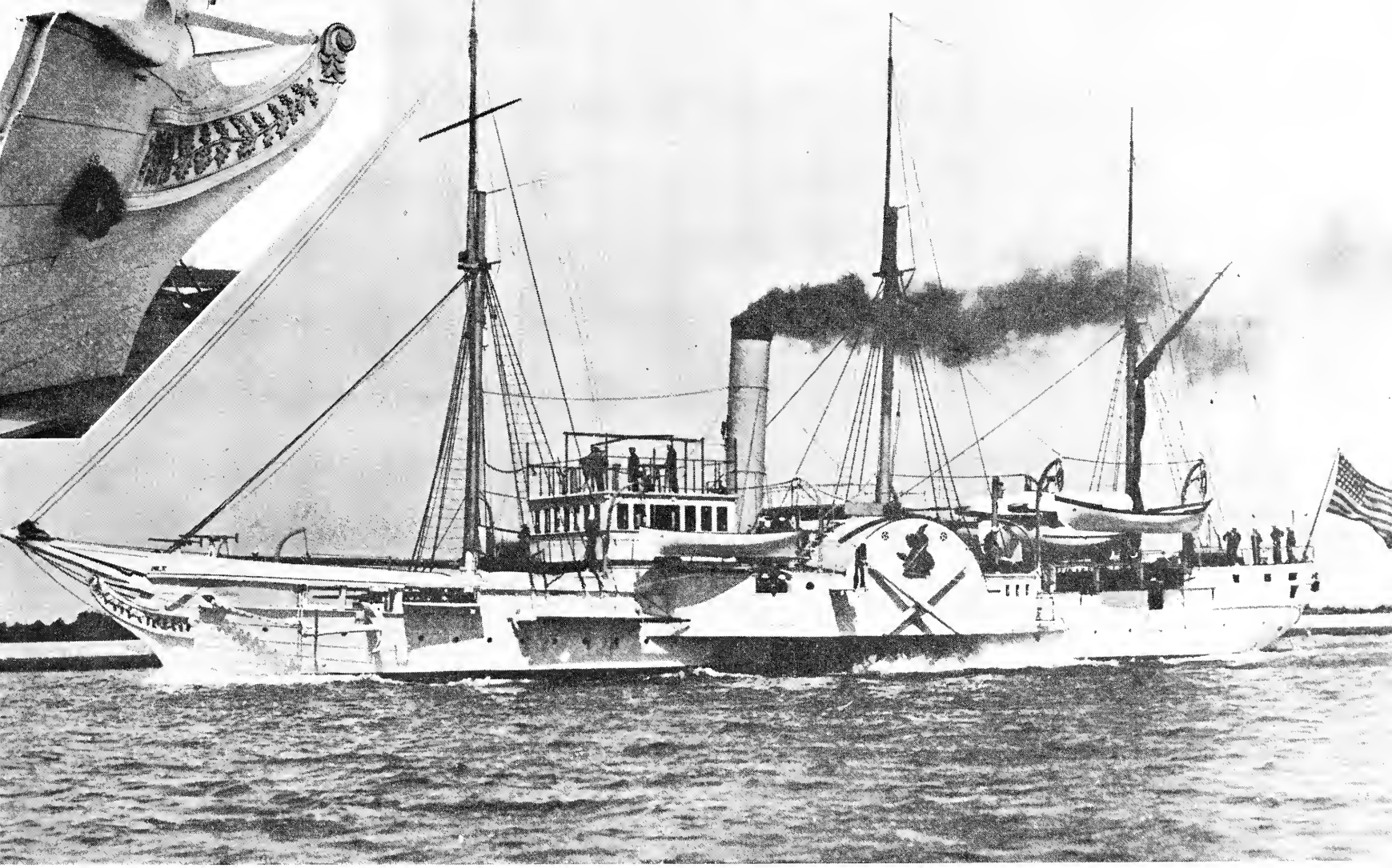
In 1905, the name was taken from her and given to a new super-dreadnought (now long since gone to the scrap pile) and she was renamed the U.S.S. "Wolverine"; in January 1943, even that name was taken from her and given to an aircraft carrier in Chicago.

Erie's 3,412 citizens in 1843 were much interested in this, the first iron ship they had ever seen, but at this time they were engrossed in raucous, mud-slinging fisticuffs between the current political parties which were named Whigs and Locofocos. The rival local weeklies, "Observer" and "Gazette," were too intent upon politics, national and city, to allow more than an occasional mention of non-political events. Mr. Samuel Hart was sometimes mentioned as "The Navy Engineer" who was hard at work with his mechanics at the shipyard, building "The Iron Steamer." The shipyard was at the foot of Peach Street, exactly where Daniel Dobbins had built the fleet in 1813.

Praise must be accorded to Samuel Hart and to the job he did. Discouragement was his daily fare, disappointment his frequent lot. Stationed far out on the frontier, a four days' journey from any iron manufactory, compelled to train his own workmen and to forge his own tools; surrounded by skeptics; encouraged only by himself; working alone at a task upon which no one could advise him; working with no text books to guide his hand and with little previous experience; on this job Samuel Hart developed a hairy-chested character.

The citizens of Erie were sympathetic and understanding. Their respect he won. Even the "Gazette" refers to him as "The Gentlemanly Architect." Furthermore, in spite of everything, he licked the job. He built "The Iron Steamer!"

Launching a ship, in those days, was not an occasion for cham-



■ UNITED STATES SIDE-WHEEL TOPSAIL SCHOONER-OF-WAR MICHIGAN

pagne and speeches. It merely was one of many routine operations. Ceremony was postponed until the maiden voyage when the ship first was put in commission. But most of the citizens of Erie could not believe that iron would float and great was their curiosity to see "The Iron Steamer" actually launched. Betting was high, and any money on either side found ready takers.

It was a bright and sunny afternoon in late November. All the villagers were busy at their appointed tasks—tanning leather, teaching school, grooming post horses, tending store or loading barrels and boxes into portage wagons for the journey to Pittsburgh. Talk around the stove in Selden's store or along the bar at Eagle Tavern dawdled upon the old subject: "The Iron Steamer." Suddenly a cannon shot was heard, the pre-arranged signal for the launching. Before the echoes had died away all church bells began to peal. The people dropped their tasks and rushed pell-mell to the bank of the lake. Would "The Iron Steamer" really float?

They met a surprise. At the gate of the shipyard was Mr. Hart, the Gentlemanly Architect, very red in the face, administering a sound thrashing to two urchins who had fired the signal gun when no one was watching.

A week later Mr. Hart really was ready. On the afternoon of the fifth of December, 1843 the signal gun was fired, the church bells rang, all the citizens assembled, the workmen gathered around, a last dab of tallow was spread upon the ways. Mr. Hart raised his hand, the wedges were knocked loose and the great ship moved majestically down the ways.

It moved fifty feet, and there stuck!

Again was Mr. Hart red in the face. But the ship resisted all argument; she stuck. Levers, tackle, luff-on-luff, pries, wedges, all in vain; she remained stuck; nor all his piety nor wit, his profanity nor ingenuity, could lure her on. The citizens looked and laughed, then went home. The workmen sweated hard until the early dark released them. Mr. Hart, the last to leave the shipyard, wearily stumbled up the hill to his lonely room, stung by sarcasm, discouraged as never before.

During the night occurred a Miracle.

Long before daylight Mr. Hart was at the shipyard, lantern in hand, ready again to face his problem. He walked through the gate, avoiding piles of chocks and of rigging scattered about. His candle lantern cast but a feeble light, enough to find the accustomed paths. He

looked for the ship; it was not there. He walked farther down; he stopped at the water's edge, raised high his lantern and peered through the dark.

Faintly, the feeble light was reflected in the dancing ripples at his feet. Peering, he saw a large shadow looming just outside the circle of light. It was "The Iron Steamer." She had launched herself.

Many days later, the Erie "Gazette" prevailed upon Mr. Hart to write for publication a brief account of "The Iron Steamer." His story is a beautiful blend of pride and of modesty, of the Engineer and of the gentleman, of relief and of success. Of the launching of the first iron ship built on the Great Lakes, he said: "The vessel was lined before and after launching and did not alter her shape at all, and she is perfectly free from leak. She is a beautiful model for a good sea boat and fast sailer—is much admired for her perfect symmetry and clean lines and is supposed to be fully equal in strength to the largest frigate. She is pierced for 12 guns (32 pounders) with two 68-pound Paixhan guns on pivots upon the quarter-deck and forecastle; this would make her broadside equal to that of a vessel mounting sixteen guns."

The Erie "Gazette" then added its own brand of encomium: "Her model is the praise and admiration of experienced mariners and if she don't run a swift race and buffet the rolling billows dexterously, we shall miss our guess."

If history must be restricted to wars and battles, then the U.S.S. "Michigan" has no history. Although the original plans called for twelve 32-pounder carronades, plus two huge 68-pound[2], 8-inch Paixhan guns, pivoted, on the quarter-deck and the forecastle, she never received her armament. On account of the agreement between Mr. Bagot and Mr. Rush, she was limited to one gun only. And she never fired it except in practice. For eighty years she sailed the lakes as a symbol of peace between two great nations.

As she was always laid up for three or four months in the winter, assignment to Erie and to the U.S.S. "Michigan" was much desired by naval officers. In winter the ship was the center of social life and many were the gay parties held on board; dances, dinners, card parties, or just parties was the way of life. So many naval officers married Erie girls that Erie began to be called The Mother-in-law of the Navy.

During the Civil War one of the duties of the "Michigan" was to guard a camp of Confederate prisoners on Johnson's Island, near Sandusky. An attempt was planned by some Confederate sympathiz-

2 The weight of the projectile.

ers to capture the ship, free all the prisoners and get them to Canada. The plot was disclosed to one of the officers and thus was easily foiled.

In 1910, the ship was turned over to the Pennsylvania Naval Militia, under the command of Lt. Commdr. William L. Morrison. This unit in 1917 was made part of the U. S. Naval Reserve Force. Ten days after war was declared with Germany, the battalion of 101 men marched away to the Philadelphia Navy Yard, where they were scattered among other naval units. After the war had ended, the ship continued to be used during the summer months with volunteer crews on training cruises and sailed over all the lakes as she had always done.

In 1924, on the eightieth anniversary of her commissioning, she was cruising in Lake Huron. Suddenly, "with a bang and a cloud of steam" the port connecting rod broke. The piston slid down, broke the cylinder head and stopped two inches from the skin of the ship. This fracture was caused by the crystallization of old age. Captain Morrison managed to get her into the harbor of Harbor Beach, Michigan, and there wired to the Navy Department for authority to make repairs. The telegram has never been acknowledged. After three days, being utterly abandoned by the Department, the ship somehow got under way on one cylinder and thus, at three miles an hour, got back to Erie. There the ship remained tied at the Public Dock, the Navy refusing to spend a cent for repairs. After three years thus Captain Morrison and others, with a small fish tug, pulled her over to Misery Bay and tied her to the bank.

A quarter of a century later, after years of struggle with the Navy's red tape, the ship was sold to a local group who erected the bow as a monument and sold the rest of the hull for scrap. When she was dragged off the sand bar of Misery Bay to be taken to the scrapping yard, after no maintenance for a quarter of a century, it still could be said of her then as it was said by Samuel Hart at her launching, "She floated true and level and free from leak."

On June 30, 1949 the Press reported as follows:

THE GRAND OLD LADY OF THE GREAT LAKES IS DEAD.

Seldom has a ship been so greatly loved by so many. In her life of 106 years, she trained many of the greatest officers of the Old Navy. On her decks Charles Vernon Gridley, Commander of the "Olympia" at Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, began his naval career; on her decks Stephen Champlin, Commander of the "Scorpion" at Perry's Victory in 1813, ended his long naval service. There were many others:

Commander John Champ Carter, whose granddaughter still tells the stirring story of that night in 1864 when a gang of Confederates plotted to capture the ship and use her as a commerce raider on the great lakes, and came within twenty minutes of succeeding; Captain Andrew Bryson, who helped General Meade suppress the Fenian War and the invasion of Canada in June, 1866; Commander Charles H. McBlair who took her to the Beaver Islands, Michigan, to arrest "King" Strang and disperse the Mormon colony there in 1856.

Personality? She had It, as every man who sailed in her knows. She knew what she wanted. It was in 1924, on her eightieth birthday, that one of her two cylinders blew up. Not a defect in the engine, but failure due to old age. But she wanted to go home, a thousand miles away, and home she limped on her one good cylinder, just barely turning over at three miles per hour and got there by the grace of God and good weather.

Personality? She was not launched on December 5, 1843. She launched herself, that midnight, when no man saw her. Personality? In 1927, while she was being towed over to a mud bank in a far corner of Erie harbor appropriately named Misery Bay, three times she took a sheer off to the north and headed for the open lake where she belonged; three times the tow line brought her up short, and the last time she swung around and charged the tug, missing it by a bare twelve inches. When at last she was pushed up on the bar for her last resting place, with a final gesture she kicked that tug up on the bar too, where it stayed for several days.

Personality? In June 1949 she was towed in ignominy to the scrapping yard. But there was pride in the Grand Old Lady yet, pride in her tatters, although she had been neglected for 25 years. The simple job of towing her should have been done in three days; she resisted every effort, and it required four weeks' work to drag her off the mud bank into deep water. There she floated at ease, serene and beautiful with the smooth easy lines which distinguished the clipper-ships—her grandchildren. Her hull was as sound as in 1843. Proud she was, and rightfully so; her own men, those who have sailed her, were delighted on that last journey to see her ram the towing tug and sink it, then stop and pick up the swimmers lest she be guilty of ever doing injury to anyone. A Noble Lady.

So passed the Iron Steamer, the United States Side-wheel Topsail Schooner-of-War "Michigan." Requiescat in pace.

15

TRANSPORTATION: ROADS AND CANALS

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■ ■ ■ Civilization is Transportation.

The steady growth of this country can be measured in eras. After the era of exploration came the era of settlement; then in turn the eras of turnpike road-building, of canal-building, of railroad-building, of interurban trolleys, and then of the diesel bus and the airplane.

In the structure of a continent, roads are the arteries.

Before the roads were built, there were only blazed trails leading from settlement to settlement, just wide enough for one horse and unimproved. "Traces," the settlers called them.

The first dirt roads were inexpensive to build, relatively, but they had the drawback of being impassable for part of the year on account of mud. Winter snows when not too soft did not affect the traffic as sleds were easier to haul than wheeled wagons. Mud was the great hindrance. Roads were laid out with that in mind. The Ridge Road to Cleveland is so called because it follows a low ridge in order to avoid the mud.

The first road in Erie County was of course the one built in 1753 by the French soldiers as the portage from Presqu' Isle to Lake Le Boeuf. The second road was built by Judah Colt in 1797 as the portage from the mouth of Sixteen Mile Creek to his farm and trading station ten miles to the south on the headwaters of French Creek.

In 1799 the State appropriated $5,000 for building a road, or at least surveying and marking one, which would run from Le Boeuf through the wilderness to the center of the state, to a place called Bald

Eagle's Nest, in Mifflin County. But this project was not carried out.

In the year 1805 was formed the Erie & Waterford Turnpike Company, of which Judah Colt was chosen Treasurer. The building of this turnpike was a progressive step, a great advance. The biggest business of the community at that time was the transport of goods, principally salt, over the portage from Lake Erie to Lake Le Boeuf where it was shipped down the river to Pittsburgh and beyond. Salt was an extremely important article of trade—there was no refrigeration in those days—and the whole interior of the country was dependent upon salt from the mines of central New York State. All this salt was shipped overland from Syracuse to Oswego then by ship to Niagara, by portage around the falls to Schlosser (now Buffalo), then by ship to Erie, over the portage to Le Boeuf, and thence by water down the river until sold. At Pittsburgh ninety-five percent of the cost of salt was the expense of its transportation. Teamsters received $1.50 a barrel for the Le Boeuf portage alone.

The route of the Erie & Waterford Turnpike, a toll road, was laid out by compass, straight and true, following the high land to the west of the Old French Road, thus avoiding the low swampy terrain which mired teams and was almost impassible after a heavy rain. This road is now Route #19. It was such an easy road that the price for hauling salt came down to fifty cents a barrel. It was a "grubbed road," which meant that all the stumps had been "grubbed" out. The Surveyor who laid out the route was Captain Martin Strong, who had settled in Summit Township in 1796.

The Buffalo Road, which in general followed the ancient Buffalo Path[1] along the ridges where there was less mud, was surveyed in 1805 and opened for travel in that year. There is an unusual jog in this road as it enters the city; from Wesleyville on a straight line it would arrive at what is now 21st Street. Instead, it veers off to the north and enters the city at 18th Street. It is possible that John Ryan, who kept a public house (saloon) there, was influential enough to have the road so laid out that the thirsty traffic went past his door.

In that same year the Ridge Road to the west was opened as far as Cleveland. In general it follows the First Ridge and enters Erie at the

1 The Buffalo Path was not laid out by roaming herds of buffalo. It was a blazed trail made along the dryer ridges by early settlers who wanted to go to the village of Black Rock, or Buffalo. That city received its name from the fact that the path crossed a small creek over which an old Indian ran a ferry. He was a huge and very stoop-shouldered man who received the nickname of "Buffalo"; Buffalo's Ferry crossed Buffalo's Creek. Lake Le Boeuf was so named by the first French who discovered it. They happened to see a cow moose standing in the water. There were no buffaloes there.

top of Federal Hill (26th and Peach). To join the Buffalo Road, the route then went down hill along Mill Creek to Eighteenth Street.

The West Lake Road was laid out in 1806, principally in order to serve Manchester Village at the mouth of Walnut Creek, ten miles west of Erie. In the early days it was too muddy to use except during summer months.

In 1813 the Station Road was opened, running between Erie and Colt's Station, its purpose being to give Mr. Judah Colt quicker service in going and coming. It was later extended to Mayville and Lake Chautauqua.

In 1851, before any railroad had reached Erie, the Waterford Plank Road was organized, financed locally, and built. In the same year the Wattsburg Plank Road was finished, and the following year the Edinboro Plank Road. Construction of plank roads consisted of smoothing the road surface and laying upon it, crosswise, a layer of two-inch oak planks which supposedly had been coated with a preservative to resist rot. A lengthwise stringer on each side helped to hold these in place. This type of road surface was a great improvement indeed; in all weathers the county people could now reach the city and mails could be carried in all seasons. But the cost of maintenance was very high, and usually these plank roads were neglected by the Road Commissioners. When hard surface roads of macadam or black top came in, the plank roads were forgotten and replaced. Finally, in the nineteen-thirties, concrete roads appeared.

At first the streets of the City of Erie were only wagon ruts in the dirt, cluttered with stumps and weeds, more used by hogs and chickens than by people.[2] As the City grew, there arose the demand for hard-surfaced streets which would eliminate the mud. Before and for hard-surfaced streets which would eliminate the mud. Before and after the Civil War, this demand was fulfilled by laying cobblestones—brought in from the stream beds of the County—on all the principal downtown streets. This gave a surface above the mud, but it was not a very comfortable surface. Ladies longed for streets on which they could ride in their carriages in comfort, even with elegance. Asphalt paving was the answer.

In 1882, as an experiment, the City Council contracted to build the first pavement of Genuine Trinidad Asphalt,—Ninth Street from

2 By a City Ordinance of July 12, 1866 every citizen was given the legal right to catch and to keep any hogs, goats or geese which were found running at large on the streets.

Chestnut to Peach Streets. Sixth Street—Walnut to Peach, was done the next year. It was a great success and all the ladies rejoiced, as did everyone else. In the next five years, other streets were similarly finished,—all of them on the West Side,—until by 1888 Erie ranked tenth among the cities of the United States in the number of miles of streets paved with asphalt. Erie had 27 blocks of it—three and three-eighths miles—which was twice as much as Baltimore had, and 60% more than New York City.

State Street was paved with this material in 1902.

The road and turnpike era was followed by the canal-building era. The level countries of Europe, including England, were interlaced by a network of canals—they are still in use—and all the United States imitated them. Commerce by canal seemed the natural method of transportation.

William Penn himself in 1690 first suggested the value of a canal to join Delaware Bay with the Susquehanna River, but it was not until 1824 that the Union Canal Company accomplished this objective. At that time the Erie Canal in New York State was being completed from the Hudson River to Lake Erie and there was much enthusiasm in the east over the prospect of uniting all the States by a network of canals, thus connecting the Atlantic Ocean with the Great Lakes and with the Mississippi River. Railroads were considered only mechanical toys, uncertain and expensive; waterborn travel was the obvious route of commerce.

In 1824 the Pennsylvania Assembly authorized "The Main Line of Public Works," an engineering department for the purpose of building a canal system throughout the State. In the next ten years, canals were constructed by the State along the Susquehanna River from Binghamton, New York, to Havre de Grace, Maryland; also along the west branch of that river to Bellefonte. Others were built for much of the length of the Delaware River and along the Monongahela River into West Virginia. The most difficult part of the system was a canal which would join Philadelphia with Pittsburgh, to be called the Main Line. This name is still used to denote that part of the city of Philadelphia through which lay its route.

The difficulties of this work can be imagined by anyone who has crossed the Allegheny Mountains. At Pittsburgh, it was necessary to dig a tunnel for the canal through Grant's Hill. This tunnel is still in use by the Pennsylvania Railroad. In crossing the Susquehanna, an

aqueduct carried the canal for a distance of almost two miles. But the most difficult job was to cross the summit of the Allegheny Mountains. Between Johnstown and Hollidaysburg, a distance of 36 miles, the engineers were unable to discover any possible way of digging a canal path. A tunnel was impossible. They were compelled to build a steam railway in which the engines were stationary and the canal boats were dragged on rails up and over the mountain. There were seven stages or levels, each with an engine, and the top one was 2102 feet A.T. (above tide).

In 1834, nine years after the opening of the Erie Canal in New York State, the first canal boat from Philadelphia reached Pittsburgh. The next step was to build the "Erie Extension." The businessmen of Erie, led by Rufus Seth Reed and State Senator John H. Walker, put pressure upon the Governor to carry on the work until the Great Lakes should be joined to the Ohio River. The State of Ohio was building (1835) two canals: one from Cleveland to Portsmouth, and one from Toledo to Cincinnati. It was urged that, as Pennsylvania had bought the Erie Triangle in order to have a lake port, certainly a canal must be built in order to make use of it.

This indeed was the era of the Canal Builders. Wherever they went they brought an enthusiastic boom of business, commerce and prosperity. The Erie Canal across New York State opened in 1825 and provided great stimulation to the economy of the small Borough of Erie. Two years previous to its opening, Erie's total land-born traffic of commerce, mail and transportation consisted of a one-horse wagon from Cleveland, a two-horse wagon from Buffalo, and a "hack" from Pittsburgh. All these ran once a week, regularly, if mud and weather permitted. To each of these points it was a two days' journey.

However, such was the stimulating effect of the canal business that, two years after its opening, Erie had fourteen stages every week from Buffalo, ten from Cleveland and three from Pittsburgh. What is even more important is that, instead of wagons and hacks, these new arrivals were Post-coaches, with teams equal if not superior to any in Pennsylvania; at least, so the "Erie Gazette" claimed.

Certainly, Pennsylvania must build the Erie Extension of the Main Line of Public Works. This was to run from Presqu' Isle Bay for 105½ miles to the Beaver River at a point six miles from Newcastle and forty from Pittsburgh. The work was begun in 1838, after a long delay because every village in the western part of the state

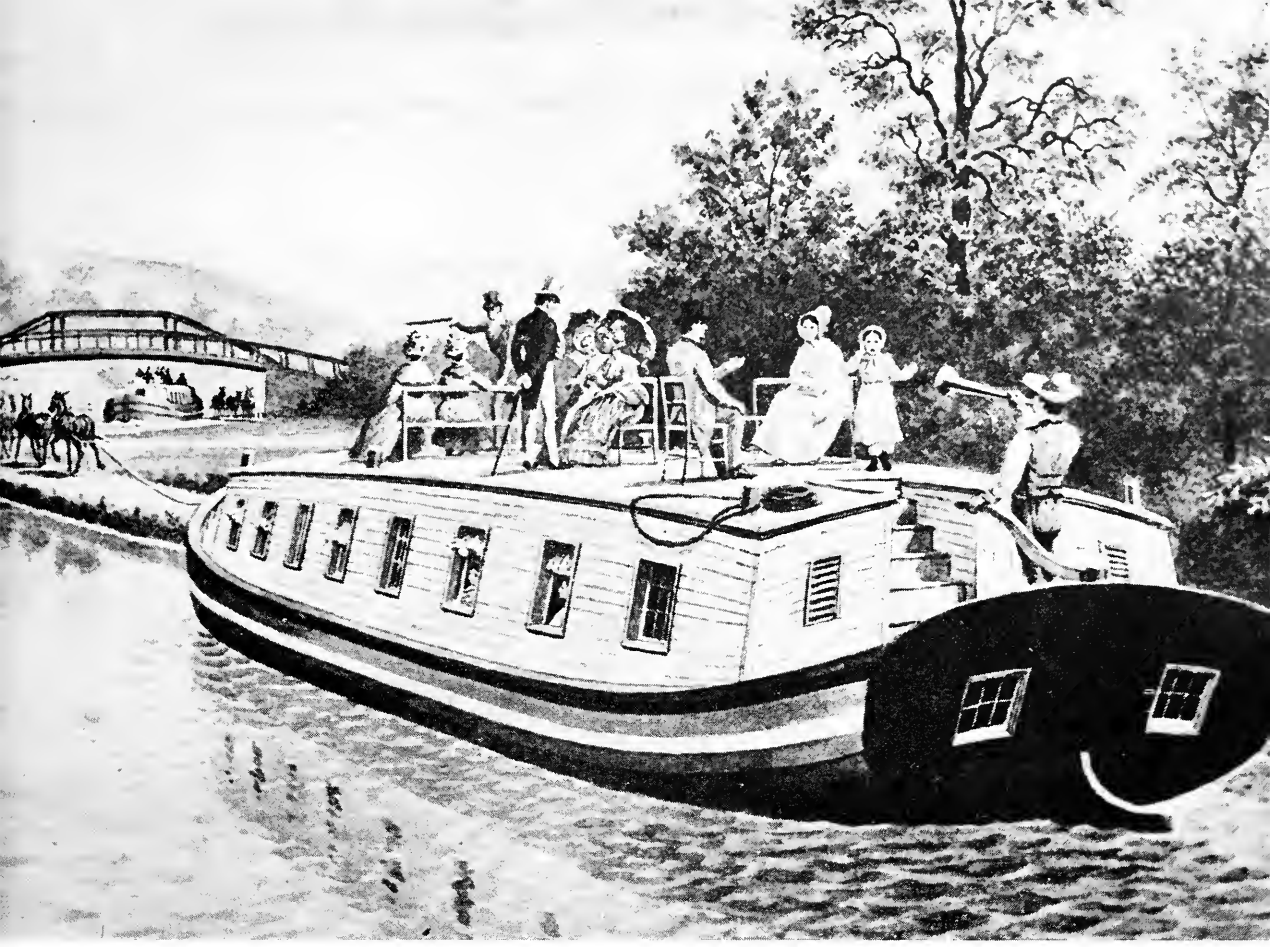
claimed the right to be included in the route, thus causing much bickering and dissatisfaction. In fact the State appropriated, borrowed and spent $950,000 before the actual digging was begun on July 4, 1838.

The people of the eastern part of the State began to worry about the cost of all these improvements. New York State had built the 381 miles of its canal for about nine million dollars, while Pennsylvania had spent $7,731,750 for the one canal of 193 miles out to Pittsburgh. For the total cost of all the Pennsylvania canal systems the State now owed over forty million dollars in bonds. The Easterners who controlled the majority vote in the Legislature decided to put a stop to so much spending. Digging a canal out in the far western edge of the State was an extravagance, politically profitless. The Legislature refused to appropriate any more money for it and after four years' work and the expenditure of four million dollars, work on the Erie Extension ceased. The project was abandoned. Only sixty-seven miles of it had been constructed. The last lap of 38½ miles from Crawford County to the terminus in Erie Harbor remained unfinished. The estimated cost of completing it was $211,000.

Rufus Seth Reed was a man of vision with the driving force which is typical of a true leader. It was he who proposed to the businessmen of Erie and of other cities in western Pennsylvania that they should complete the canal instead of the State. His enthusiasm was contagious. The Erie Canal Company of Pennsylvania was incorporated with issued stock of $50,000, and on August 1, 1843 the Legislature passed a resolution to give the unfinished canal, which had cost the State nearly four million dollars, to this new corporation as a free gift, on condition that the work be completed within one year. The company spent $672,119.08 to complete the line from Conneaut Lake to Erie Harbor, and an additional $110,004.64 was spent in repairing and finishing other sections of the line, a total of $782,123.72.

The magnitude of this project and the daring of the few men who signed a contract to complete it may be judged by the fact that in these last 38½ miles there were fifteen locks in the City of Erie alone, and at Lockport (now named Platea) there were 28 locks within two miles, all faced with heavy stone from the local quarries. Traces of this work, and of the towpath, may still be seen in many places. The Bessemer Railroad for many miles now follows the route of the canal, thus saving the enormous cost of grading the roadbed.

It was on December 5, 1844 that the first canal boat reached



■ "LOW BRIDGE!"

Erie. It was the "River Queen," loaded with coal from Mercer, Pa. On board, besides the coal, were Mr. Reed and the other officers of the Canal Company, the Mayor and some minor dignitaries. The plan was that this boat should have the honor of being the first to go through the locks into the Canal Basin at the foot of Peach Street, Erie. However, as the boat moved down the last fifteen locks, it was discovered that there was another one ahead of the "River Queen,"—a small boat filled with a "Jollification Party" consisting of eight men and a keg of beer. There was imminent danger that "River Queen" would not have first honors. But Mr. Reed knew how to handle such a situation. He sent a fleet messenger to run ahead and instruct the next lock-keeper to keep the gates closed until the "Queen" caught up with and passed the party. That evening there was a grand celebration in the streets of Erie. The future looked rosy for the City.

As a financial venture, the beginning years were profitable to the Company. In 1860 it received for tolls and freight the sum of $105,311.44. Its expenses that year were $70,379.18 which left a profit, especially as there were no income taxes. Rufus Seth Reed was its first President, and at his death in 1846 his son Charles M. Reed took the office.

The Canal was successful for a number of years, until it began to have competition. In 1856 the Erie and Pittsburgh Railroad was incorporated and began to build. In those days it took a long time to construct a railroad. The difficulties began with the political pull needed to obtain a charter from the State, then the choice of route and the confusion of financing it, since every section of the line seemed to need a new company with a new financial structure, and finally the slowness of the actual labour performed by teams of horses instead of by modern Diesel trucks. It required eight years for the railroad to reach New Castle, forty miles from Pittsburgh.

The President of this Railroad Company was Charles M. Reed, who was also President of the Canal Company. He believed that railroads would eventually supersede canals throughout the country, a decision which was justified by later events. He felt that the cheapness of canal transportation could not avail against the speed and reliability of railroads. This was sound business judgment. Therefore he sold the canal to the Railroad Company.

There was precedent for his decision. The year after his company was formed (1857), the Pennsylvania Railroad purchased the entire system of canals throughout the whole state. The cost of building them had been well over $40,000,000, but they were sold for the sum of $7,500,000, an amount which was less than it would have cost to build the tunnel through Grant's Hill. The Governor made the frank statement that they could be operated better and more economically by private enterprise rather than by the government. This was true, but they gradually fell into disuse as the railroads took over their functions with greater efficiency.

The Erie and Pittsburgh Railroad continued to operate the canal for a few years, but without much enthusiasm. The end came during Tuesday night, September 5, 1871. A section of the aqueduct which carried the canal over Elk Creek (Girard) fell into the Creek. All the water drained out. The cost of repairs was estimated to be $20,000. The Railroad refused to put up the money. That was the end.

16

TRANSPORTATION: RAILROADS AND THE WAR OF THE RAILROAD GAUGES

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■ ■ ■ Planning a railroad was a complicated venture. The first step was to obtain a Charter from each of the states in which it was to be built; this required much political lobbying among the legislators and sometimes some dishonest bribery may have been practiced. The second step was to decide upon the exact route along which it was to be built. As every city and village in the territory insisted that it be included, there was much bickering about the location. The promoters of the road always had a pat reply to the various local committees; "How much money will you put up?"

There were some financial deals which are hard to explain. For example, when a railroad was being planned which would run from Lake Erie to the Atlantic seaboard, Cleveland wanted to be the terminus of the road. But the City of Erie put up $300,000, the County of Erie put up $200,000, and Philadelphia put up a million dollars. So the road ran from Philadelphia to Erie. There was another inexplicable wrinkle in the financial fabric of this road: when the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula Railroad Company applied for a charter, they were granted one on condition that they subscribe $500,000 to the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad!

The confusion of railroad financing can be imagined when we learn that at one time there were twenty-six different companies either building or planning to build or to own connecting lines in Erie County. This confusion was compounded in the struggle to get a charter, then

to decide on the route, then to figure out who sold the stock to whom, where to buy the locomotives, and what gauge of track was to be laid.

There were three sizes or gauges of track being built in the various railway lines of the east: the standard gauge of four feet eight and one-half inches (56½")[1], the "Ohio gauge" of fifty-eight inches and the six-foot gauge. Each company made up its own mind. The early locomotives were imported from England and were built to the standard gauge and could run only on that size of track. The "Ohio gauge" was authorized by the legislature of that State and no other size could be used there. The six-foot gauge had the advantages of safety and of capacity, as cars of that size were safer and larger than the smaller ones.

Erie wanted commercial connections with the east. The west looked to the east rather than the east to the west. In 1831, thirteen years before the Erie Extension Canal was opened, a meeting was held in Fredonia, New York by certain forward-looking businessmen of Buffalo, Dunkirk and Erie to plan for the construction of railroads. The Erie citizens who attended were Charles M. Reed, P. S. V. Hamot, and Thomas H. Sill. After several hours' discussion this meeting decided that they should wait until the railroads now being planned in the east should complete their building to the west as far as Buffalo, as there was no use in building a local railroad unless it had some place to go and some other line with which to connect. It was twenty-one years before a train rolled into the station of Erie.

Erie's first railroad was the Erie and Northeast Railroad Company, of which Charles M. Reed (son of Rufus Seth Reed) was President, and Giles Sanford, Treasurer. They organized in 1842, but they waited seven years for a connection and did not begin construction until 1849. The first train reached Erie in February, 1852.

There are today just five railroad systems operating in the County of Erie: the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, the Nickel Plate, the Erie Railroad, and the Bessemer Railroad. The New York Central operates its main line along the shore of Lake Erie from New York City to Chicago; the Nickel Plate Railroad is parallel to it; the Erie Rail-

1 The Romans were the world's greatest engineers. Their legions always morched in columns of two and when they laid out the first roads in Britain they built them with a width which would accommodate two ormed men walking side by side. Their chariots and carts were made to the same width which was one Roman pace—two steps each thirty inches—or five English feet. After the Romans left Britain, all carts and wagons continued to have this width, in order to fit the roads. The first locomotive, when Mr. Trevethick built it in 1803 (with fifty pounds of steam pressure) had this width of tread. When metal rails were first used for a locomotive and cars, they were formed in the shape of a U with the tread of the wheel inside of and between the flanges of the U. If the tread of the wheel were two inches broad, and if the tracks were made of iron sheets which were one-half inch thick, and if one-quarter inch were allowed for clearance, then the distance between the flanges of the two rails would be fifty-six and one-half inches.

road has its main line across the southern part of the County; the Bessemer Railroad runs from Erie and Conneaut to the steel mills east of Pittsburgh; the Pennsylvania Railroad has two lines, one from Erie to Philadelphia and one from Erie to Pittsburgh.

It would be tedious and confusing to give in detail all the mergers and consolidations of the many small railroads which ultimately made up the present five systems. The rail connections to the east and to Buffalo were:

The Erie and Northeast Railroad
The Buffalo and State Line Railroad
The Dunkirk and State Line Railroad

These united to become the Buffalo and Erie Railroad, then the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, and finally the New York Central System.

Rail connections to the west started with the Franklin Canal Company. When the Erie Extension Canal was opened in 1844, there was a branch 22¼ miles long which connected the city of Franklin with the "French Creek Feeder" at Meadville, which in turn ran 27 miles to reach the main line of the Canal. The construction included a large aqueduct which carried the canal over French Creek near its mouth and near the city of Franklin. This aqueduct began to fall to pieces from rot and decay and Mr. Charles M. Reed, President of the Erie Canal Company, considered that the business which the canal received from Franklin did not warrant the expense of repairing it. The people of Franklin, not wishing to lose their only "modern" means of commercial communication with the rest of the world, formed the Franklin Canal Company. They obtained from the State in 1849 a charter which gave them the right to repair their canal or to build a railroad to supersede it. The Legislature, in granting the charter, accepted this phrase having in mind the railroad on the Main Line of the Pennsylvania Canal which carried the canal boats over the mountains from Johnstown to Hollidaysburg. The promoters who got the charter had another idea. They built a railroad from Erie to Conneaut. It opened for traffic in 1852, just a few months after the Erie and Northeast Railroad started.

But—a rival group of railroad financiers thought that the Franklin promoters had gone a bit too far from their home base and took the case to court. After many months of litigation, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania decided that the Charter of the Franklin Canal Company was illegal, and revoked it. This decision was handed down

after the line had been in operation for two years. But no one was hurt by this—the Canal Company merely sold out to the other railroad, the Cleveland, Painesville and Ashtabula.

The series of railroad companies for connections to the west were:

Franklin Canal Company
Cleveland, Painesville and Ashtabula Railroad
Cleveland and Erie Railroad
Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad
New York Central System

To the south, the Erie and Pittsburgh Railroad Company was chartered in 1856, financed in part by a subscription of $400,000 by the Erie and Northeast Railroad. Construction was slowed by the Civil War, but by 1864 it had reached New Castle and there found connections to the west. The successive lines were:

Erie and Pittsburgh Railroad
New Castle and Beaver Valley Railroad
Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad
Pennsylvania Railroad

The last named Company leased the other companies for 999 years.

The shortest route from Erie to the Atlantic seaboard was through central Pennsylvania to Philadelphia. As early as 1837 the Sunbury and Erie Railroad Company was organized to build the final 270 miles of this route. That year there was a serious panic in the country which held up the necessary financing. It was not until 1856, nineteen years later, that work actually started and it progressed very slowly on account of the difficulties of the grades and terrain. Major John W. Reynolds, a veteran of Gettysburg and a resident of Erie until his death in 1925, was the Chief Engineer. Often he reminisced about the difficulties of building the line, especially the section through the Waterford swamp. The engineers figured that a fill of six feet would be enough, but it actually required over 55 feet; the earth simply absorbed the fill; "Earth swallows earth," as the "Erie Gazette" of the day said.

The successive lines on this route were:

Sunbury and Erie Railroad
Philadelphia and Erie Railroad
Pennsylvania Railroad

When the first train puffed into the station of Erie in 1864 and

thus gave to the city access to the Atlantic seaboard by the shortest route, the citizens were jubilant. The City government threw a big party of celebration for which the bill for wines was $1500, plus $300 for spiced oysters.

The Pennsylvania Company leased the others for a term of 999 years. It also leased the Union and Titusville Railroad Company which had built a spur from Titusville to Corry. They had expected to build the line to Union City, but found that Corry was a more satisfactory terminus and they just stopped there, not bothering to delete Union from the name.

The New York and Erie Railroad had the grandiose idea of building a road from New York City to Lake Erie. The terminus was expected to be at Dunkirk. As the construction continued toward the west and as pressure of rival city groups was put upon the financiers of the road, the plans were changed. In addition to Dunkirk, they included Buffalo. Even beyond that, they had plans of building all the way to Chicago. This involved many steps, many consolidations and many companies. In Erie County there were:

New York and Erie Railroad
New York, Lake Erie and Western Railroad
Atlantic and Great Western Railroad
New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio Railroad
Erie Railroad Company

The present Bessemer Railroad likewise is a confused series of consolidations. It began in 1865, to compete with the Erie Extension Canal. Apparently every few miles of track required new financing and a new charter and the line kept growing for thirty years until it finally reached Erie and Conneaut on the north, and Bessemer on the south. Today it carries (with one exception) more iron ore than any railroad in the world. It is now owned by the United States Steel Corporation. The component companies were:

Bear Creek Railroad (never built)
Otter Creek Railroad (21 miles)
Shenango and Allegheny Railroad
Connoquenessing Valley Railroad
West Penn and Shenango Railroad
Pittsburgh, Butler and Shenango Railroad
Northeastern Ohio Railroad
Pittsburgh, Shenango and Lake Erie Railroad

Meadville, Conneaut and Linesville Railroad
Pittsburgh, Bessemer and Lake Erie Railroad
Bessemer and Lake Erie Railroad

The New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad (1882) was built twenty years later than its predecessors and is the only road which was built all at the same time by the same company. Its route more or less parallels that of the New York Central from New York to Chicago (with a detour to Fort Wayne), and it was expected that the Central would buy it outright. However, the price which the promoters asked for it was so high that a newspaper in western Ohio remarked that, "It must be nickel plated!" As the Central refused to buy, the promoters sold it to the public. The original cost was $28,000,000, including all the equipment. The promoters issued first mortgage bonds of fifteen million dollars, preferred stock of twenty-two million, and common stock of twenty-eight million dollars. The public bought it all.

There were other roads which were discussed but never built. As early as 1836 a group of Wattsburg residents began to agitate for a railroad from Erie to Wattsburg to connect with a railroad from the east, if it should ever arrive—but it arrived at Corry instead of Wattsburg. In 1853 while the future Erie Railroad was being built, the Erie City Railroad was organized to build a line out to Greenfield and to connect there with the Cassadaga Railroad and the New York, Lake Erie and Western (later Erie Railroad) when they should arrive, which they didn't. At the same time, the Sheridan Railroad was to connect that city with the Erie and Northeast Railroad. The Erie Southern Railroad (1873) was to run to McKean, Edinboro and Cambridge. Another road was to run to Waterford and Mill Village. At one time the Pennsylvania Central Railroad was to build from Altoona to Erie via Bellefonte. None of these lines was built.

The confusion of the many railroad companies, before they were consolidated into the present larger systems, was heightened by the controversy as to which gauge of track should be used in their construction. There were three different sizes: the English standard gauge, 56½ inches between the flanges of the rails, was used by the lines built in central New York State; the "Ohio gauge," which by the laws of Ohio must be used in Ohio, was 58 inches wide; and the third was the six-foot gauge which was used on the roads being built along the southern edge of New York State, and also by the Erie and Northeast Railroad.

Before construction was started between Erie and Northeast and the State Line, the officials of the Erie & Northeast Railroad Company conferred with the New York Central who had already laid their tracks as far as Buffalo, and agreement was made that beyond Buffalo all tracks would employ the six-foot gauge. It was evident that the larger size would have greater capacity as well as greater safety. However, the New York Central did not live up to this agreement and its subsidiary, the Buffalo and State Line Railroad, was built to the "Ohio gauge" of 58 inches. This was done after the Erie & Northeast line had been completed using the six-foot gauge.

Therefore, a traveller from New York to Cleveland, in 1853, had a choice of two routes. He could take the New York and Erie Railroad and its branch, the Atlantic and Great Western (now consolidated as the Erie Railroad) from New York to Dunkirk on the six-foot track. There he had to change to the Buffalo and State Line Railroad with its 58-inch track. At State Line he transferred to the Erie and Northeast Railroad, six-foot tracks. At Erie he again had to change to the Franklin Canal Company Railroad (later the Cleveland and Erie Railroad), thus completing his trip to Cleveland on 58-inch tracks.

By the second route, he could travel to Buffalo (New York Central) on standard gauge tracks; transfer to the Buffalo & State Line Railroad (58") as far as State Line; there transfer to the Erie and Northeast (six foot tracks); and at Erie change again.

All these transfers were exceedingly inconvenient for the passengers and throughout the nation Erie received much unfavorable publicity. One could travel from New York City to Buffalo or Dunkirk (a 20 hour trip) without change. But for the next one hundred miles he must change cars three times. Likewise, every piece of freight similarly had to be shifted from one size of freight car to another, a costly and tedious job. The shippers and the railroad companies as well as the travellers did not like this because it meant an expensive delay.

The people of Erie, however, liked this arrangement because it made the city seem to be important and provided jobs for many but they overlooked the grim fact that the Pennsylvania Railroad was already building its road through southern Pennsylvania from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and on into Ohio towards Chicago, a route by which travellers and freight could go the entire distance without change, by-passing Erie entirely.

The Directors of the Erie and Northeast Railroad discussed the

problem and in their wisdom decided that they must adopt the "Ohio gauge" so that there should be one continuous line from Buffalo to Cleveland. It was a well-reasoned decision, but it was not popular.

There was much public excitement. Mass meetings were held. "Letters to the Editor" filled many columns. There were daily stump speeches in the Public Square. The loss of jobs was serious, but the loss of face to the City was equally important. The people thought that travellers, when changing trains, would consider Erie an important railway terminus. Pressure groups waited upon the City Council which unanimously passed ordinances forbidding the Railroad to make a change of gauge. Mayor King was authorized to appoint 150 special police officers to enforce the ordinances, one of which declared that the railroad was a public nuisance. This was December 7, 1853.

Nevertheless, the Railroad proceeded to make the change of gauge. This was done merely by spiking down another rail at the correct distance. This did not take long and in one day the change was completed from State Line to the eastern edge of Erie.

The next day the Mayor (on horseback) with the 150 special police plus the regular police, the fire department and a whole mob of several hundred citizens, marched to the two railroad bridges on State and on French Streets, tore them down and burned them. The day after that the people of Harbor Creek tore up the track in their city and burned the railroad bridge there. The Railroad Company had to employ horses and sleighs to continue service for travellers and for freight. They obtained an injunction in the Federal Court in Pittsburgh, but it was ignored by the Mayor and by the citizens. When the Company relaid the tracks, the people promptly tore them up again.

Horace Greeley, once an Erie itinerant printer and at this time the famous editor of the New York Tribune, came through Erie during this controversy. This is what he wrote:

> On Monday morning at 9, the Lake Shore train came along from Buffalo, and we reached Harbor Creek in it about 11, and thence were carried over the gap (seven and one half miles) in about one hour, riding in open sleighs through a cutting storm of wind, snow and sleet. At Erie we were detained more than an hour while the baggage was unloaded, transported and reloaded; and it was cheering to see the unanimity with which the passengers refused to eat here . . . a community which burns bridges and tears up railroad tracks in defiance of an in-

> junction of the United States Supreme Court, and thus exposes infants to be frozen, as some have . . . would not hesitate to steal chickens . . . it is safe to give such people a wide berth . . . this inhospitable northern neck of Pennsylvania . . .

Three days earlier an editorial presumably written by Greeley, advised travelers to avoid Erie "until the grass shall grow in the streets, and until her pie-sellers in despair shall move away to some other city not inhabited by fools and ruffians." A later issue referred to "those bridge-burning, track-plowing, baby-freezing scoundrels of Erie and Harbor Creek . . . ."

The City and County of Erie were divided into two factions; the majority of the people, including the Mayor and all public officials, were in favor of preventing the Railroad from altering the gauge. This party was nicknamed the "Rippers," because they ripped up the tracks. The party who favored the railroads were called the "Shanghais." They acquired this nickname in an unusual way.

The new rails had been laid from State Line as far west as Harbor Creek, where they had been torn up by the residents. One day a train full of 300 men, tracklayers and laborers, arrived there from Buffalo to lay the track again. A mob gathered, quickly, to prevent them. There was much shouting and shoving, and the workmen could not accomplish anything. Soon large reinforcements for the mob arrived from Erie, including "General" Kilpatrick and the militia company, the Mayor, the Sheriff and several hundred others, all determined to prevent the re-laying of the track. In the melee the Conductor of the train, Coughlin, pulled his pistol and aimed it at a man named Nelson who was standing right over him and threatening to hit him with a clubbed shovel. He pulled the trigger, but the gun misfired; a second time, it only clicked; the third time it went off; the bullet grazed Nelson's head and did no other damage. But the mob, at this, became fighting crazy and utterly unmanageable. Coughlin then jumped into the train for safety; several of the mob jumped in after him. At this point, the engineer went forward and started the train, taking it east toward the State Line in a tactical retreat. On board were most of the railroad party and also two or three of the opposing party. When the train was just across the line, it stopped and the unwanted passengers were roughly and literally kicked off. They walked back to Harbor Creek where they told the tale of being "shanghaied." This nickname became common language in Erie, especially in politics. For years the conservative poli-

ticians were of the "Shanghai" party, and the other party was that of the "Rippers."

It is clear that the Rippers were in the majority. Of four local newspapers, only one openly took the side of the railroad. Politicians were unanimous, seeing which way the wind was blowing; they included Mayor King; the Sheriff, Morrow B. Lowrey, who later was elected State Senator; Gideon Ball, State Representative; James Thompson, soon to be Chief Justice of Pennsylvania; Rev. George B. Lyon of the First Presbyterian Church, and thousands of others. This difference of opinion remained for many years a political issue and every politician when he ran for office was certain to tell his constituents of the heroic deeds he performed in the Railroad War, as it was then called. Even fifty years after the events of this chapter, there were feelings of antagonism between certain groups, initiated by this "War."

Erie received much unfortunate publicity from these events. One eastern magazine, "Harpers Weekly," showed a full page drawing of the railroad bridges being torn down by a crowd of women. It was explained that they were men disguised in skirts. No one knows where the artist obtained his idea, but it was probably pure imagination.

The publicity was harmful to the City and some of the leaders of the Rippers, including many lawyers of the local bar, began to realize it. After about seven weeks of continuous excitement things began to calm down. In that time the bridges had been torn down and replaced three times, and the tracks ripped up even more frequently.

The trouble was finally brought to an end by the State authorities. A bill was passed by the General Assembly which revoked the charter of the Northeast and Erie Railroad. The Governor then assumed control of the road and appointed Joseph Casey, an ex-Congressman, as Superintendent; Casey, who admittedly knew nothing whatever about operating a railroad, leased the line to the Buffalo and State Line Railroad. Thus, with the authority of the State of Pennsylvania, the new owners re-laid the track in the "Ohio gauge" so that trains then could run straight through from Buffalo to Cleveland without having to stop. Horse sense, after two months of turmoil, prevailed over emotional excitement. The railroad was running.

17

TRANSPORTATION: TROLLEY, BUS AND AIRPLANE

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■ ■ ■ As the City grew and expanded, as more industries and railroads and establishments came, there arose a demand for some kind of local transportation. By 1860 the main street was no longer French Street, but had moved over to State Street which, like French, was solidly paved with cobblestones. People felt that Erie really ought to have some horse-powered streetcars like those in other big cities.

William Loesch, who by legend was a surly rather than a genial character, agreed to purchase and run a fleet of six cars. In 1866 he obtained a franchise from the City under which he agreed to run these cars from Second and Holland Streets up to Federal Hill (Twenty-sixth and Peach Streets) every day. His contract carefully specified every day and no holidays, and the fare was to be seven cents. As the facilities that he offered were not very satisfactory, another group tried to obtain a franchise to compete with him and to give the citizens better service. But Loesch had a monopoly and could not be forced to give it up. For two years the two groups argued until something happened, so legend says, that put an end to his business. One morning he found that all his horses had been poisoned; he could not drive any of his cars on that day. Therefore he forfeited the franchise and the City gladly gave it to the Erie City Passenger Railway Company for the same route and under the same conditions. The fare was to be seven cents, but between five and seven in the morning, three cents.

The biggest stockholder of this new company was Anthony J.

Drexel, the Philadelphia banker. A local group, headed by J. C. Spencer, owned a minority interest.

This company operated horse cars for twenty years. In 1888 The Erie Electric Motor Company took the franchise and Erie became modern indeed, with electric trolleys. Jacob Berst was the first president, followed a few years later by John C. Brady. At that time there were only ten cities in the United States which could boast of such an improvement. The system was installed by the Sprague Electric Company of New York, which later became a part of the General Electric Company. Their Chief Engineer rode the trolleys for the first few days to be sure that they worked. Thirty cars were bought from the Pullman Company, fifteen closed ones (without stoves) for winter use, and fifteen open cars for the summer; the open cars had canvas screens which could be pulled down when it rained. The seats ran crosswise and a passenger could step aboard anywhere; the winter cars had only end entrances. The motorman stayed outside, with no windshield.

The first electric trolley operated on the twenty-ninth of June, 1889, causing at least a dozen runaways of frightened horses. The motorman was Mr. Ernest L. Wagner, who had been educated for the position on a Cleveland trolley. It was a hot day and the A&P (Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company) gave away 20,000 paper fans. Brant, the jeweler, advised all his customers to purchase at bargain prices non-magnetic watches which would not be affected when worn on the trolleys.

One of the routes went out West Eighth Street as far as "The Head," a popular summer park at the head of Presqu' Isle Bay not far from today's "Waldameer." Congressman William L. Scott, the City's wealthiest citizen, owned a large farm there with a famous stud of racing horses. He raised an objection because he felt that the roar of the trolleys would upset and frighten his aristocratic horses. So, at his request, the trolleys went no farther than Trinity Cemetery and the pleasure-bound passengers had to walk the final mile to The Head.

Boys on their bicycles had so much fun racing the trolley cars (over the cobblestoned streets!) that the Council (1895) passed an ordinance setting a speed limit of eight miles per hour for bicycles.[1]

These trolleys were so satisfactory that within ten years people began to think about using them to reach the smaller suburban towns

1 How could a Cop tell the speed of a boy on a bike?

out in the country. Then began the great system of interurban transportation.

In Erie the huge interurban cars were able to travel on the same tracks as did the local cars of the Erie Electric Motor Company, although they were taller and almost touched the trolley wire. By 1898 there was a line to Edinboro and Cambridge Springs called the Erie Traction Company, and another to Northeast called the Erie Rapid Transit Street Railway Company.

Ten years later the network of interurban tracks was at its maximum. The Buffalo and Lake Erie Traction Company started in 1906 with tracks to Westfield. On January 1, 1909 the route ran on a regular schedule to Buffalo—a pleasant five hours' run. There the traveller could make a connection which would carry him to the east as far as Utica and Little Falls, New York.

To the south, after reaching Cambridge Springs the only connection was with the M & C S which went as far as Meadville. That was the end of the line. Beyond that there were too many hills. These two lines were consolidated to form the Northwestern Electric Railroad Company.

To the west, the trolley connections were excellent. One could go to Conneaut on the Conneaut & Erie R.R., there change to the Painesville & Ohio to reach Ashtabula, and then take the Cleveland, Painesville & Eastern to travel the rest of the way to Cleveland. At that city there were good connections, sometimes, which would reach as far west as Toledo and Detroit and to the south to Columbus, Indianapolis and even Cincinnati.

It was a thrill to ride these huge interurban cars. They were not very comfortable—straw-covered seats over hard wood—but they had coal stoves for winter heating and they were smooth and rapid; sometimes they could go even fifty miles an hour, on the level. Going uphill was a different story; on a steep grade such as Cemetery Hill (a mile west of Northeast) the gentlemen passengers would often have to get out and help push the car up the grade.

The end of this era arrived during the Twenties. In 1924 the Buffalo & Lake Erie Traction ceased to operate. In 1926 the West Ridge Transportation Company which for three years had been running its busses to Conneaut, bought out the Erie Rapid Transit Company and its franchise to run to Girard and to Northeast, replacing the electric cars with gasoline busses. In 1928 it bought the Northwestern Electric Rail-

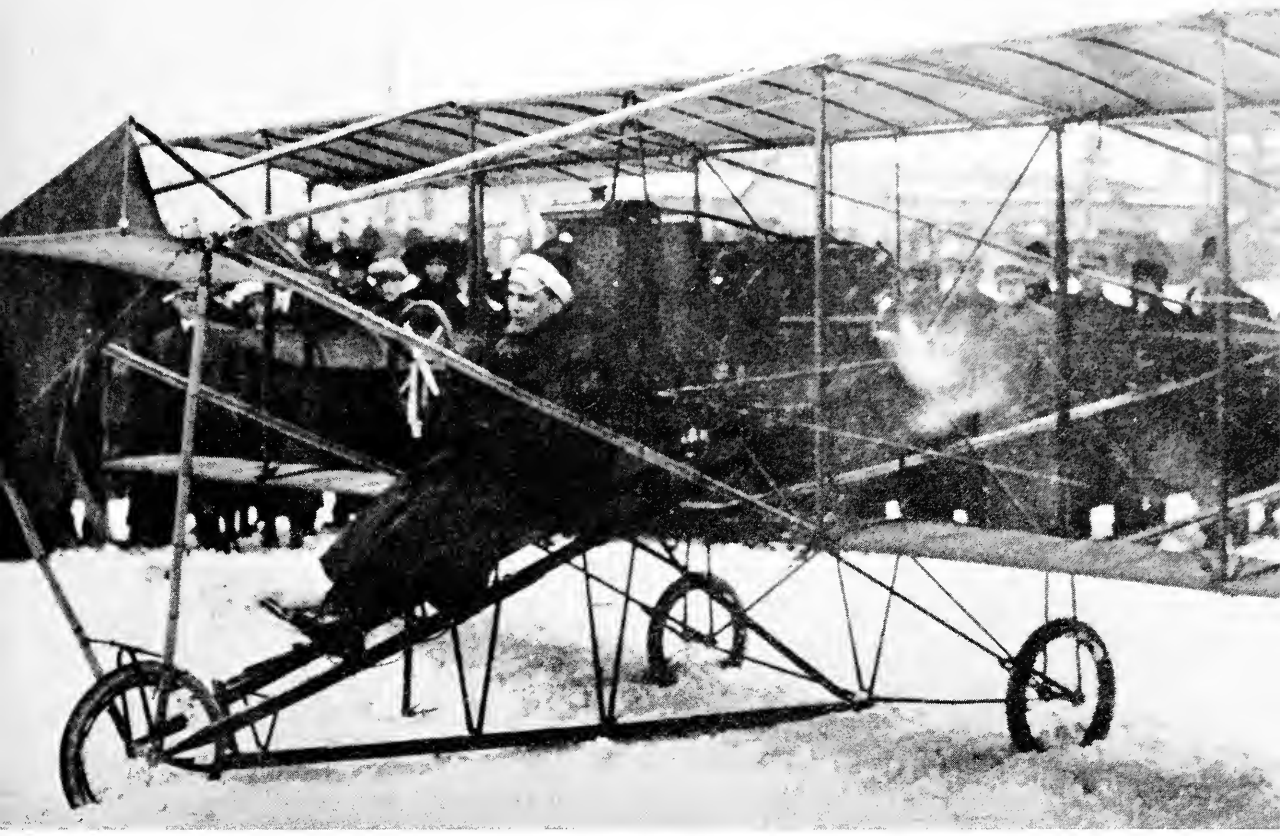
road and the route to Meadville. In 1929 the Greyhound Busses appeared. Within a year all the lovely big interurban trolleys had disappeared.

In 1962, there is only one interurban trolley still running in North America. It is a short run from Port Dover to Simcoe, Ontario.

The electric trolley system within the City of Erie contained 65 miles of track and was in operation for 47 years. In 1935 the last electric trolley line, running out to the General Electric plant, ceased to operate. The Erie Coach and Railway Company had already started (1925) with six busses; after the trolleys were discontinued they had a complete monopoly. The name was then changed to the Erie Coach Company (1939). The peak of their business came during the Second World War; in 1944 they carried 22,480,439 passengers. By 1955 they had a fleet of 105 busses. But as automobiles came into more general use, their patronage declined year by year. In 1952 they carried 12,686,747 passengers; in 1960, 4,292,673.

Earl Sandt was Erie's first licensed airplane pilot. He attended the school of aeronautics organized by Glenn Curtis at Hammondsport, N. Y. and received a diploma which was also a license, dated 1911. For $5,000 he bought from the school a second-hand Curtis bi-plane, brought it to Erie and made a living as a stunt flyer at any county fair which would hire him. The plane was a pusher model with two cloth wings, wooden struts and ribs, and three bicycle wheels for the landing gear. The pilot was sheltered from the weather by a pair of goggles—three-inch discs of window glass inserted into a rubber strap—and when he took Bobby Burns for an afternoon's spin, Bobby had to sit on the wing and hang on to the struts.

Sandt was ambitious to be the first man to fly across Lake Erie and he was cocky enough to believe that it could be done. At two o'clock on the afternoon of February 20, 1912 he suddenly decided that the weather was favorable and, with a full tank of gasoline took off, gained an altitude of two hundred feet and headed north. Thirty-five minutes later he reached Long Point Light, landed on a smooth patch of ice and astonished the Lightkeeper by dropping in for a cup of coffee. But he needed more than that—he needed gasoline. The Lightkeeper generously gave him all he had, which was half a tankful from his motorboat which had been laid up for three months. Sandt put it in his plane and took off for Erie, anxious to get there before dark. Before he was halfway the engine began to miss and he realized that there



■ EARL SANDT AND HIS FLYING MACHINE

was a considerable amount of condensed water in the gasoline. He nursed the plane along by "zooming", climbing to an altitude and then diving down so that the wind turned the propeller, thus encouraging the engine to make a few more explosions. But on one of the "zooms" the engine failed to respond, the plane crashed into the ice at full speed (about forty miles an hour) and Sandt was thrown out. Luckily he was not seriously injured. He was able to walk the remaining five miles to shore, landing near Harbor Creek and catching the last trolley to Erie. He got home by midnight.

Flying, before 1930, was a sport rather than a business. Only a few men had the vision to imagine that transportation by air could become commercialized and regular. Every flight was hazardous because of the slow speed of the planes, the rough dirt surfaces of the landing fields and complete lack of control or communication between ground and air. Hubert Hall used his plane to scare up the ducks on Presqu'

Isle Bay and send them in towards his friends in the duck blinds. When the bay froze solidly he used it as a landing field and for weeks he parked the plane there not far from his home. There was no danger that anyone would steal it. It was safe there—until a sudden thaw arrived one January night and the plane disappeared.

On a pleasant summer's day in 1929 the Author chartered a plane for a business trip from Erie to Newark, Ohio, a distance of 185 miles. The plane was a Curtis Robin (biplane), holding three of us comfortably. We left Port Erie at seven in the morning in order to make the return trip before dark that evening. The Pilot had a good compass and spread over his knees was an automobile road map. We flew comfortably for about two hours and came to a large city. I leaned forward and shouted in the Pilot's ear, "What city is that?" He shouted back, "Akron." I continued to watch, and saw running through the middle of this city a stream; this seemed all right as the map showed Cuyahoga Creek there. But suddenly in the stream I saw a steamboat, propelled by a stern-wheel paddle. It was an Ohio River steamboat. I pointed this out to the Pilot and he replied "Well, this doesn't look much like Ohio." It wasn't. It was West Virginia.

We circled around and around for another hour and finally by the greatest stroke of good luck found a farmer who was so advanced in his thinking that he had painted on the roof of his barn the name of his city, "Cadiz." It was Cadiz, Ohio. Never was a landfall more welcome, not even to Columbus. We started off on a new course, hopefully, and after another hour we had to admit that we were lost. Circling around, we chose a field which had been reaped and, holding tight, made a good landing. The neighbors all rushed to us and when we asked where Newark was, they said "Why, right over there. Just go ten miles that way." But before we went ten miles that way we telephoned to a garage and had them send us ten gallons of the best gasoline. Then we took off with a roar and a hope—we missed a high tension power line by three feet—and were on our way again.

We found Newark, and the air field. Equipment of an airport in those days consisted of one wind sock and sometimes a grass cutter. We landed, and just as we hit the ground we saw that there was a hillock or embankment, invisible from the air, right where we struck. The impact broke one of our springs, but otherwise did no damage. We were there.

On our return trip the Pilot made the same error again (applying

the deviation backwards) and we found ourselves for the second time in West Virginia. This time we were fortunate in finding an airport,—a mountain-top airport with a runway two hundred yards long and a straight drop at the end of it. We made it all right, and after buying more gasoline we flew straight and due north until we reached Lake Erie, and then we followed the familiar shoreline. So ended that day.

Erie did not have a landing field for airplanes until 1926. In that year Mr. Roger Griswold, a qualified pilot, purchased his own plane and used a hayfield on his father's farm as a place for practicing landings. He built a small shed there, not large enough for a hangar, and enjoyed taking his friends for daring trips over the treetops. Jack Osborne, a fighter pilot of the Royal Canadian Air Force in World War I, occasionally borrowed the plane and performed a few stunts which he had learned in France. Hubert Hall was interested and bought his own plane. So did Fred B. Downing, Jr. Carl Litzenberger was one of the local pilots. It was an enthusiastic group of local boys who were having fun.

Three years later, Downing and Litzenberger decided that Erie ought to have an official airport. As the hayfield was too small they acquired more land from Downing's father, rented some from the neighbors Mr. Duncan and Mr. Deighton, scraped up the money for a small hangar (capacity one plane) and were in business, renting, servicing and chartering planes. It was not a very profitable operation as the public was not air-minded and there was not much business; $125.00 per day for a plane and pilot was a lot of money. Planes were meant for kids.

In 1933 the principals withdrew and Mr. George Aulenbacher, who owned a near-by farm, took control and operated the airport, using the name Port Erie. The firm was incorporated under the name "Port Erie Corporation."

The City of Erie wanted the prestige of having a municipal airport. The Federal Government encouraged these ventures over the whole country and assisted financially when called upon. In April, 1936 Mr. Aulenbacher deeded to the City of Erie, for one dollar, all the land which was being used by the airport. It contained over one hundred acres. In return, the City gave to Mr. Aulenbacher and the Port Erie Corporation a contract under which he operated the airport. The Federal Civil Aeronautics Board gave every assistance in laying out new run-

ways, new markings, new lighting and the latest controls. The code letters ERI were assigned. Air mail service began in 1938.

For fifteen years the Port Erie Corporation operated the airport, and in that time with federal financial aid it built new runways with hard surfaces, expanded the area, built a large hangar and a small passenger terminal. Erie now had an airport and American Airlines brought in a passenger service,—a daily plane between Buffalo and Cleveland. Then the Pennsylvania Central (later Capital Airlines) inaugurated a daily flight to Pittsburgh.

By this time all the larger cities had airports which were municipally owned and with the Federal C.A.B. suggesting it, the Erie Municipal Airport Authority was formed which assumed the full control and operation of the airport on May 6, 1951, taking over the contract of operation from the Port Erie Corporation. They paid cash to Mr. Aulenbacher for the one hundred acres which he had deeded to the City fifteen years previously.

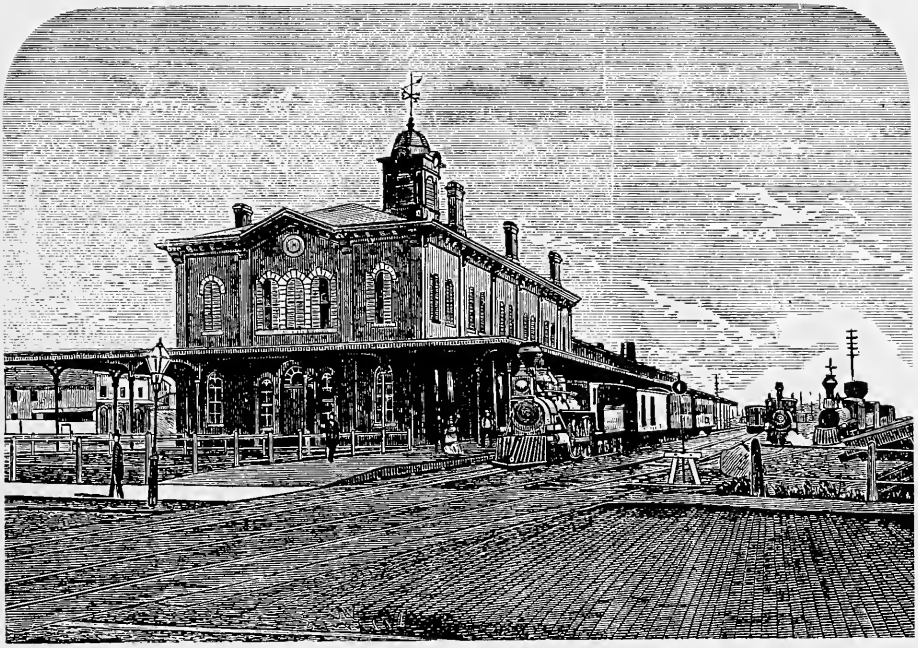
Since 1951 the airport has been enlarged and improved so that all-weather operation by large planes—though not jet planes—by day and night is safe and feasible. The longest runway is five thousand feet. A new control tower and passenger terminal building were completed in 1957, with a large automobile parking lot where the public pays twenty-five cents, but it is free for all Airport Authority officials, all City officials, all County officials, and their families.

Financing of these improvements has been accomplished by bond issues guaranteed by the City. In 1955, $200,000. In 1956, $300,000. In 1957, $400,000, part of which is jointly guaranteed by the County. This adds up to $900,000 and in addition the Authority has received from the Federal government about $2,600,000.

In 1962 three commercial airlines make regular service stops at Erie: Mohawk Airlines, Inc.; Allegheny Airlines, Inc.; and Lake Central Airlines, Inc. There is a total of thirty-two flights daily.

In the field of transportation there has been a constant trend, over the centuries, away from private initiative and towards collective or government ownership; or, if not ownership, at least close and effective control. Travel by water routes has always been considered as common or public right; although Robert Fulton (1807) received from the State of New York a monopoly for the operation of steamboats on the Hudson River, it was later annulled. Country roads were public property, and all states in selling land always added a percentage (usually

6%) of acres as a road allowance. Turnpikes were all taken over by the State and operated as free roads. Canals were almost always built by the State. Railroads have always been closely controlled by the State, as are bus lines and airlines. The State owns or controls all public transportation. The Federal government now pays to the States ninety per cent of the cost of new highway construction.



■ **UNION DEPOT**

18

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES 1861-1865

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■ ■ ■ The economic and moral issues which divided the North from the South in 1861 had been defined so clearly during years of argument that when actual warfare broke out suddenly though not unexpectedly, there was no hesitation among the 9,419 citizens of Erie. Unanimously and wholeheartedly they favored the Union cause, believing that the Union of the States must be preserved and that slavery was an immoral evil. In fact the "Underground Railroad" is supposed to have had a station in Erie. Of course there are no written records of this enterprise, but according to legend many hundreds of escaped slaves were assisted by Erie citizens along this "road" to freedom across the border into Canada.

If all these legends and tales of the "Railroad" had been true, Canada would have become a Negro State. In the "Perry Memorial House" at Second and French Streets, gullible visitors are shown the entrance of a blocked-up "Tunnel" leading to the shore of the Lake, along which "thousands" of escaped slaves were presumably conducted to their freedom in Canada. This "Tunnel" was probably a cistern for rain water,—the soft water which every housewife preferred for washing clothes.

The Civil War began with the short siege and surrender of Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. Three days later the President issued his first call for the individual states to raise militia, asking for 75,000 men to serve for three months. The war was expected to be a short one, of course—all wars are at the outset—and the

term limit of enlistment was set at three months, as required by an old law of 1795. John W. McLane, who had been a Captain in the Mexican War only thirteen years before, suggested that Erie raise a regiment of infantry, to take part in the cause. On April 26, 1861 a large mass meeting was held for all the citizens. The next day the enlistment office was opened and within four days over 1200 had applied to join the ranks. Each was given a physical examination; one-third of the recruits were rejected, but 770 were accepted and sworn in as regular soldiers.

Thus Erie was given the honor of forming the First Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers. The United States Army was then in a natural state of confusion, but it was ready to accept this group as one unit of the new army and sent instructions that it was to go into training at a camp near Pittsburgh.

Before leaving, the regiment had to be organized. It was the custom in this country that the men elect their own officers. At a closed meeting and by secret ballot, McLane was chosen to be Colonel of the Regiment, and Strong Vincent (Harvard '59) the Adjutant.

On the first of May, 1861, only five days after the initial mass meeting of the people and four days after enlistments began, the Regiment marched up State Street with Mehl's brass band between rows of thousands of cheering and weeping citizens and boarded the train. They were off to the wars.

They arrived at Pittsburgh eighteen hours later and were promptly assigned to Camp Wilkins, which was a large bare field with a few tents. Here the regiment went into training. Within two weeks more tents were erected and by the end of May enough uniforms were issued so that at last they looked like soldiers. They drilled earnestly, and when rifles were issued they had target practice every day. It was not glorious—war never is except in the storybooks—but they were ready and willing. They worked hard, there in the hot summer sun, for three months. Then, as it was the end of July and their term of enlistment expired, they were put on a train and sent back to Erie. The First Regiment was disbanded.

There was a reason for such prompt discharge of the First Regiment. By the end of July the Army had begun to get things fairly well under control. The Generals did not favor local units with short term enlistments. The State headquarters in Harrisburg then organized the Eighty-Third Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, with Colonel John W. McLane in command. This regiment was to be made up of ten com-

panies, five from Erie, two from Meadville, and one each from Titusville, Tionesta and Conneautville. Enlistment was now for three years. Erie quickly raised its quota, as nearly all of the disbanded First Regiment volunteered and joined the Eighty-Third.

This was the first of the three regiments in which volunteers from Erie served. All three have records of which the city can be proud.

The Eighty-Third took part in the Peninsular campaign in 1862. In the battle of Gaines' Mill, Colonel McLane was killed. Colonel Strong Vincent succeeded him in command. The following year at the Battle of Gettysburg Colonel Vincent was killed while defending Little Round Top. For his bravery and leadership he posthumously was made a brigadier general. During the war this regiment took part in 25 battles including Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Spotsylvania and Appomatox. It was disbanded honorably on July 4, 1865.

The One Hundred and Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, was formed by voluntary enlistment in January 1862, under the command of Colonel Matthias Schlaudecker. It marched away from Erie, headed by Zimmerman's Brass Band, on February 25, 1862. It was attached to the Army of the Potomac and in that year took part in the Peninsular Campaign, including the battles of Antietam, Chancellorsville, and in 1863 Gettysburg. Later that year it was transferred to the Army of the Southwest, under General Rosencrans, and fought at Murfreesboro, Lookout Mountain and the battles around Atlanta. It was with Gen. Sherman's army in the famous "March to the Sea." Casualties had been so heavy that it was consolidated later with the One Hundred and Ninth Regiment, because at that time the total personnel consisted of only 885 men from both regiments. It served throughout the war and was disbanded in July 1865.

The third regiment of which men from Erie composed a large part was the celebrated One Hundred and Forty-Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, formed in September 1862. It was still called that, although at that time the draft was in effect and a large part of the soldiers were draftees. It contained nine companies of infantry; six of them were men of Erie County, and one company each from Crawford, Mercer and Warren counties. At this time there was great need for men for the Peninsular Campaign in Virginia and without any training the regiment was rushed into action. They left Erie on the eleventh of September and on the seventeenth, only six days later, took part in the Battle of Antietam with heavy casualties. Two months later they

fought at Fredericksburg where, of an effective force of 556 men, 226 were killed or wounded. Again they fought at Chancellorsville, with heavy casualties. At Gettysburg they had only 228 men, of whom 98 became casualties. The following year (1864) they received replacements up to their full strength and took part with the Army of Virginia in the campaigns which included the battles around Richmond, the Wilderness, Petersburg and finally Appomatox. The 145th returned home and was disbanded on May 31, 1865.

All during the war the people of Erie were intensely enthusiastic in the Union cause. In every church, groups of women rolled bandages for the wounded. All old cloth was saved for this purpose. While the First Regiment was away, the businessmen subscribed a fund for the support of the families of the volunteers and from it each wife was paid $3.50 a week, plus fifty cents for each child.

By the spring of 1862, because of the extremely heavy casualties in the fighting—this was one of the bloodiest wars ever fought—the government realized that they could not rely on volunteers to keep the regiments full. The first incentive was the payment of a bonus—in this war they paid the soldier's bonus upon enlistment, not after it was finished. The amount of this payment was increased at different times, until in the latter part of the war it amounted to $402 for a soldier who re-enlisted after his first term had been completed, and for a new recruit $302, plus a local bonus (paid by Erie County) of another $300.

Even these cash inducements were not enough as the need for men increased. A law by Congress authorized the draft, which in 1862 was administered by each state and in the following years by the Federal Government. Under the law, the draftee did not receive a bonus. But the law permitted two chances for the draftee to escape: he could hire a substitute, which cost anywhere up to $300 or even more; or he could escape service by paying to the government the sum of $300. In the fall of 1863, after the heavy losses of Gettysburg, the draft drew 1161 men of Erie County, of whom 83 furnished substitutes, 245 paid their $300 exemption, 706 were refused for physical and other reasons, and only 127 were sent to camp. It is clear that most able-bodied men had already volunteered and were in the service.

While many hundreds had volunteered for the Navy and for the Cavalry, the greatest number of both volunteers and draftees joined one of the three infantry regiments.

When at last after four long years of bloody battle and agony,

hostilities ceased and peace again came to this land, the people of Erie could look back with satisfaction to their part in the war effort, knowing that they had done their full share.

The Strong Vincent Post No. 67, Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.), held its last meeting on August 21, 1942. It was attended by the Ladies' Auxiliary, and by Mr. Leonard Mong, age 96, the final survivor. He died three months later.

On January 10, 1945, at the age of 103, Major Logan J. Dyke died at his home in Union City. He was the last Erie County veteran of the War Between the States.

19

THE SPANISH AMERICAN WAR

Spain had owned Cuba ever since Columbus arrived there and had always administered its government badly. It was not strange that the native Cubans had a strong desire for independence. In 1829 occurred the Black Eagle Rebellion which was directed by Cubans in the United States and was suppressed ruthlessly by Spain only after three years of warfare. Another unsuccessful insurrection started in 1844 in which the Spanish soldiers put to death seven hundred Cubans with fiendish tortures. Again, when in 1868 a band of Revolutionaries proclaimed a republic, the Spanish authorities brought in 50,000 troops and slaughtered the patriots without mercy. Again in 1895 came another revolution and the Republic of Cuba was organized. Again Spain sent 50,000 troops.

The Island was paralyzed with civil war. Fighting brought a cessation of trade and of farming and the people had little to eat. During the winter of 1897-98 President McKinley appointed a Cuban Relief Committee which with the American Red Cross collected money and food from the American people and shipped it to Cuba to relieve the thousands of sufferers there. On January 9, 1898 in Havana, the Red Cross made the first distribution of these freely-given stores. On January 25th the U. S. battleship "Maine" entered the harbor on a friendly visit with the full and amiable consent of the Spanish officials. On February 15th, the "Maine" was blown up, cause unknown. Two hundred and sixty-six men perished. Some American newspapers, especially the Hearst papers, insisted that the Spaniards were to blame.

The whole United States became tremendously excited and indignant. The people were naturally sympathetic with the Cubans who wanted their liberty, and hatred of Spain was doubled by the sinking of our battleship. On March 8th, without a dissenting vote, Congress appropriated $50 million which for some unimaginable reason was tagged "for national defense." War was coming.

On the eleventh of April Congress passed a resolution "that the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be free and independent," and went on to demand that "The government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and withdraw from Cuba." Such a demand, of course, was refused by the Spanish Government. Congress declared war.

The resolution of April 25th stated that war had existed since April 21st. Thus the war was back-dated by four days. The purpose of this move was to make legal the fact that President McKinley in his excitement had issued a call (April 23d) for 125,000 volunteers, to augment the recently reorganized regular army of 61,919 men.

Erie was the home of Company A and Company C of the Fifteenth Regiment, United States Volunteers, National Guards of Pennsylvania. They were called into the Federal service on April 27th and that same evening marched away to war with a huge parade up State Street, Demuling's Brass Band playing "Marching Thru' Georgia" and Kohler's Band playing "There's a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." Never before or since has our main street seen such an excited crowd and the cheers and the tears continued until long after the P & E evening train pulled out.

The war combat record of these units can be condensed into the following table:

April 27 to June 11, 1898 ..... Camp Gretna, Penna.
June 11 to June 23 ..... Camp Sheridan Point, Md.
June 23 to September 9 ..... Fort Washington, Md.
(Peace was declared on August 12, 1898)
September 9 to November 11 ..... Fort Meade, Penna.
November 11 to January 31, 1899 ..... Camp Athens, Georgia
Mustered out on that date and returned to Erie.

The casualty list should be entered in the historical record. While at Camp Athens, James H. Hoskinson, the popular Adjutant of Company A, was thrown from his horse and killed. While at Fort Washington, Private John Greener and Private Harry Coffey, both of Com-

pany A, were drowned when their ship (a rowboat) was sunk in a terrific gale on the Potomac River. Private Etsel French of Company C died of stomach-ache.

By the Federal Pension bill of July 1, 1957 every veteran who had ninety days' service in this war, whether he served actively in Cuba or was merely standing by at home for orders, receives a minimum pension of $101.59 each month.

■ 1917 PHYSICAL

20

WORLD WAR I

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■ ■ ■ When the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his morganatic wife were assassinated on June 28, 1914 in Sarajevo, the small capital city of Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the borders of Serbia, no one thought that this act would have any effect upon the lives of the citizens of Erie, Pennsylvania. But it did.

The Archduke was heir to the throne of the kingdom of Austria-Hungary. The assassins were proved to be Serbians. Nearly four weeks after the murder, Austria sent an ultimatum to Serbia demanding among other things that Austrian officers be allowed to enter Serbia to enforce certain strict regulations which would end the activities of all anti-Austrian propaganda societies. It was a most insulting ultimatum, with a time limit of forty-eight hours. Serbia submitted to these outrageous demands and agreed in general terms to arbitrate all questions. But it was too late.

It was too late because by that time the issue was no longer a simple disagreement between Austria and Serbia. It was involved in the confusion of European power politics. Europe was divided into two power groups—Austria, Germany and Italy composed the so-called Triple Alliance; the Triple Entente consisted of Great Britain, France and Russia. Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany had the best army in the world and it was his ruthless ambition to use it; mobilization "for manoeuvres" began in early July, two weeks before the ultimatum.

Events moved rapidly in the closing days of that month of 1914. Russia supported Serbia. Germany supported Austria. Italy proclaimed neutrality. Germany asked Sir Edward Grey (the British Foreign Min-

ister) if Great Britain would stand neutral in the event of war against France and received an emphatic negative in reply. This was on July twenty-ninth, after the German army had begun to mobilize. On August first Germany declared war against Russia. On August fourth Germany invaded Belgium on the way to attack France. Great Britain, which by the Treaty of 1839 had guaranteed the integrity of Belgium, formally declared war on Germany. Europe was at war.

For the first few months of this struggle, which was then called the European War, the United States was definitely neutral. Because of the many millions of our people who were of German ancestry, perhaps we were slightly favorable to the German cause. However, that attitude changed quickly and definitely after Germany proclaimed unrestricted submarine warfare, with orders to the U-boats that they were to attack any ships of any nation without warning and to sink them "spurlos versenkt"—without a trace. On the night of May 7, 1915 the SS. "Lusitania" of the Cunard Line was sunk by a German submarine with the loss of 1153 lives, of whom 114 were citizens of the United States. From this date onward the attitude of all Americans became increasingly pro-ally and it was only a question of time before we were brought into the fight. A number of American ships were sunk and American lives lost. President Wilson tried to calm the rising temper of the American people by saying that we were "too proud to fight." Most Americans disagreed with him. A long series of diplomatic notes between Secretary of State Lansing (actually written by President Wilson himself) and the German Foreign Minister Zimmerman made no change in the tactics of the German High Command and at last (February 3, 1917) the President addressed Congress saying that "this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honour of the United States . . . . but to sever all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire."

At about this time, the German Ambassador in Mexico City approached the President of Mexico and offered an alliance between the two countries, suggesting war to recover Mexico's lost territories of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. When the American people heard of this, instantly there was a popular demand for war against Germany. The President called a special session of the Congress and addressed the members in such stirring phrases as, "We must vindicate the principles of peace and justice . . . we have no quarrel with the German people . . . The world must be made safe for democracy . . . We have

no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion . . . . We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nations can make them."

Therefore, on the sixth of April, 1917, a state of war was declared to exist between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government.

Ten days later the crew of the U. S. S. "Wolverine," Pennsylvania Naval Militia, U. S. Naval Reserve Force, marched up State Street 101 strong and entrained for the Philadelphia Navy Yard. Erie was in the war.

The United States was not at all prepared for war. Our policy of strict neutrality had prevented us from building up our military strength, even though every thinking person could predict that war was coming. However, such was the temper of the American people that volunteers by the thousands applied to the army and the navy for a chance to get into the fight. The army chiefs then made the wise decision that this country would not follow the mistake which the British had made in 1914, when they had called for 100,000 volunteers, raised them from the best and the most patriotic section of the population and then sacrificed them in Flanders Fields and in Flanders trenches. The average life of a sub-lieutenant on the front line in those battles was less than two days. The new American concept of this war was that it should be a war fought by the whole people. Accordingly, Congress passed the Selective Service Law, known as the Draft. The first registration was June 5, 1917.

Every man between the ages of 18 and 45 was required to register with his local draft board, of which there were three in the city of Erie. There he filled out a large letterhead-sized questionnaire of 16 pages which covered every conceivable question about his life, his job, his social and financial condition, and his ancestors. Also there was a four-page physical examination report. If called and passed, he received the customary letter:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
GREETING:

which notified him that he had been selected for immediate military service. In practice, about three-fourths of the men called for examination were rejected for physical, economic or family reasons.

The first draftees to leave Erie were seventeen men who de-

parted for Camp Lee, Virginia on September 7, 1917, exactly five months after war had been declared. Two hundred and seventy-nine more followed a few days later. The traditional parade of the drafted men up State Street with a brass band was carried out without fail for every contingent throughout the war, with music, flags and the cheers of the people and with Boy Scouts carrying a huge flag horizontally into which people threw money and cigarettes. The last and final group started off two days after the armistice of November 11, 1918. This final group took the Bessemer train and when it reached Albion (23 miles away) was recalled and marched back down State Street with the same brass band, being the first of Erie's seasoned veterans to return from the wars.

It is impossible to find exact statistics of how many Erie men were in the services. One of the three boards, Draft Board No. 2, had a registration list of 9852 men, of whom 823 were inducted into service and sent to camp. Each man was equipped with a knitted sweater and two pairs of knit socks by the Erie Chapter of the American Red Cross. All the girls were knitting furiously. A reasonable estimate of the number of volunteers and draftees from Erie places the number at 3600.

Two Erie groups, all volunteers, left the city each as a military unit: the Pennsylvania Naval Militia, and Company G of the Pennsylvania National Guard.

The Naval Militia went to the Philadelphia Navy Yard and was broken up into small groups or individuals who served everywhere over the world with other naval units. The commanding officer, Lieut.-Commdr. William L. Morrison, was attached to the USS "Utah" as First Lieutenant and served in the North Sea and the North Atlantic until the armistice.

Company G, 112th Regiment, Pennsylvania National Guard, consisted of 176 Erie men under Capt. Lucius M. Phelps, Lieut. Edward Schmelzer and Second Lieut. Harry Lemp. They were first mobilized in July 1916 for the expedition against Mexico and spent six months along the Rio Grande River in training exercises, though without any combat action. They returned to Erie on January 17, 1917, just three months before this country entered the European War.

The National Guard was again mobilized six months later, on July 15, 1917. The Company actually left Erie on September ninth for Camp Hancock, Georgia. There they consolidated with Company G of

the Eighth Regiment, Pennsylvania National Guard and reached full strength of 250 men and 6 officers. After eight months of additional training they became a unit of the famous Twenty-Eighth Division, the Keystone Division and embarked on the Cunard SS. "Aquitania," reaching Liverpool a week later, May 16, 1918. They then moved to Dover and crossed to Calais, where they exchanged their American Springfield rifles for the British Enfield rifle—a much better gun—and for two months were in training with British and with French units.

The actual combat record of this unit is as follows:

July	5 to 9 (1918)	Attack on Hill No. 204
"	10 to 15	Second battle of the Marne
"	15 to 18	Champagne-Marne Defensive
"	18 to 21	Aisne Marne Offensive
"	21 to 23	Battle of Chateau Thierry
July	25 to 28 (1918)	Epay; the Red Cross Farm battle
August	6 to 17	Fismette and Fismes Sector offensive
"	18 to 26	Oise - Aisne offensive

At daylight on the morning of August 26th, while holding a position near Fismette, the Germans launched a surprise attack which practically wiped out Company G as a unit. Of 134 men and officers involved, only twelve managed to escape. Twenty-seven were killed, 22 were wounded and 73 captured, including Lieut. Edward Schmelzer.

From August 26 until the end of the war on November 11th, Company G—what was left of it—was combined with two other decimated companies and brought up to full strength by replacements. They took an active part in the Argonne Offensive, then went to the Thiaucourt Sector and later took part in the final attack and capture of the fortress of Metz.

Company G of the 112th Regiment started with 176 Erie men. During the war 201 joined it as replacements, making a total of 377 men. The regiment was mustered out on May 6, 1919, just six months after the Armistice.

Of the drafted inductees from Erie about one half were sent to Camp Lee, Virginia. There the Eightieth Division, called the Blue Ridge Division, was formed and as a part of it the 313th and the 315th Machine Gun Battalions, which were made up of men from western Pennsylvania, including many Erie men.

These units left Camp Lee on May 17, 1918 and reached Brest on the 28th. For three months they trained with British troops. In Au-

gust they were sent to the front at the secondary lines at Artois. The actual combat record is:

September	1-12 (1918)	Artois Area, as reserve of First Army
"	12-15	San Mihiel offensive
"	26-28	Meuse Argonne offensive; Bethincourt captured
"	29-30	Bois de Fays and Bois Montfaucon
October	6- 7	Bois de Ogons and Hill #304
"	8-12	Rest area at Thiaucourt
"	12-31	Argonne Forest Offensive, Battle of Romagne
November	1- 9	Meuse Argonne Offensive

This division in the fall of 1918 was under fire in action continuously for forty-eight days, and in three different battles broke through the German front lines. In the Argonne, in a five days' battle they advanced 25 kilometers.

The four companies of the 313th Machine Gun Battalion contained 772 men, most of them from western Pennsylvania. This unit lost 59 killed, of whom 38 were Erie men. It returned to the United States in June, 1919.

The total number of men from Erie County, in all branches of the services, killed, was 154.

So ended the war which at first was called the European War. At its finish it was called the World War because, after the entry of the United States the following nations also had declared war upon Germany: Japan, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Greece, Brazil, Bolivia, Guatemala, Haiti, Siam, Liberia, Argentina, Peru and Uruguay.

World War I was a relatively short war, lasting (for the United States) only nineteen months, yet the enthusiasm and patriotism of the people on the Home Front was inspiring. Almost every vacant lot was made into a "war garden." Sales of War Bonds and of the U.S.W.S.S. (United States War Savings Stamps) were urged everywhere by local committees and Tag Days for the American Red Cross were frequent. Food and gasoline were rationed, but the rationing was entirely voluntary and was enforced by public opinion, not by the police. When the War Administration Board called upon American women to conserve wheat so that it could be shipped to Europe, so much was saved that there was more than the available ships could carry and the "voluntary ban" was lifted.

The American Brakeshoe Company came to Erie and built a huge plant at Twelfth and Weschler, employing many girls and women as did all the other factories. The American Working Girl was born. It became respectable to be one. Even the First National Bank relaxed its Victorian austerity and admitted three female employees, Miss Cecelia Croke, Miss Marian VanNatta and Miss Louise Driscoll.

THE WAYNE RANGERS

The Sixteenth Pennsylvania Infantry, which became the basis of the Pennsylvania National Guard, had been organized in 1878 with one company in Erie. Later it was expanded to two companies. The Guard served in the Spanish-American War in '98 and again was called out to maintain order during the prolonged strike in the mining districts in 1904. In 1917 there was one company, known as Company G of the 112th Infantry Regiment which became a part of the Twenty-Eighth Division.

After World War I the U. S. Army urged the various States to increase and expand the National Guard as a nucleus for a future army, should one ever be needed. The Erie unit was increased to battalion strength, four companies, known as the Erie Battalion. The original officers were:

In command	Maj. Lucius N. Phelps
Company E	Capt. Kenneth W. Momeyer
Company F	Capt. Phelps Gill
Company G	Capt. William M. Spencer
Company H	Capt. Milton Carlyle
Medical Officer	Capt. James Smith
Adjutant	1st Lieut. Harold Thompson

To accommodate this enlarged unit the State in 1923 built the Armory at Sixth and Parade Streets in which the Battalion could carry out its ambitious program of military education and training. Every summer the Battalion went to camp for two weeks of manoeuvres. At that time the officers—Maj. William M. Spencer was then in command—felt that the Erie Battalion ought to be something more than mere paid soldiers, that it ought to be an important and recognized asset of the community, an organization which would carry civic as well as military prestige, and in which membership would be a social honor. The Battalion became the Wayne Rangers.

The idea was popular. A uniform was designed which was military and snappy, made of two shades of gray with a gold-braided belt

and a high-plumed shako with gold chin strap. These were the snappiest-looking outfits in the army. Civic-minded citizens donated $11,000 to purchase them for the men.

On a pleasant evening in May the newly-uniformed Wayne Rangers made their first public appearance. A parade on State Street was arranged, in which the Rangers in full uniform, with the band, were to march. The citizens by thousands lined the street to see the spectacle. It was such an important affair that the City Police felt called upon to add their prestige to the occasion by leading the parade. Six Policemen, their usually dowdy uniforms especially brushed for the occasion and further embellished by new pairs of white cotton gloves, appeared at the Armory just as the parade was about to start. They informed the commanding officer that they would precede the Battalion. They insisted that it was their right and their duty. This they did and with becoming dignity, though not in step, marched up the street followed by the United States Army. But this Army knows how to manage things. At Twelfth Street the Major, turning his head, gave the command quietly "Column, Left About" and the Battalion swung around, marched back down the street and to the Armory. The six policemen just kept on going.

In the annual training and manoeuvres at Camp Mt. Gretna in that year, the Wayne Rangers was such a well-drilled and snappy-looking unit that Governor Gifford Pinchot officially designated it "The Governor's Guard," an unusual honor.

Erie was proud of the Wayne Rangers, and properly so. But this pride lasted for only two years. People considered the uniforms to be beautiful, and so did the moths. All winter long they fed on the good gray cloth. There is no military glamour in a moth-eaten uniform. The idea was abandoned and Civic Pride had to look elsewhere for stimulation.

■ **THE WAYNE GREYS**

21

WORLD WAR II AND KOREA

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■ ■ ■ In this so-called civilization wars seem to occur about once in every generation; perhaps oftener. In 186 years, the lifetime of the United States, we have had 8 major wars, 4 minor wars and a continuous campaign against the Indians which started in 1607 and officially ended on December 31, 1898. Yet as a nation we are peaceably inclined. This record is no worse, and no better than that of European nations.

World War I from 1914 until 1917 was supposed to be a War which would end all Wars (so we were told) and would make the World Safe for Democracy, would make all men brothers with mutual respect for the rights of everyone. The lion and the lamb would eat out of the same mess-kit and the pleasant life of Peace would illumine the world and the enlightened peoples in it. And women were going to be allowed to vote.

A good start was made toward a peaceful world. The captured German fleet sank itself and so could not be divided among the conquerors. In 1922 at the Washington Conference on disarmament, called by President Harding and Secretary of State Hughes, the United States agreed to scrap 28 battleships, Great Britain 20 and Japan 16. Furthermore, the United States agreed to limit its navy to 525,000 tons; Great Britain to 525,000 tons; Japan to 315,000 tons; France and Italy to 175,000 tons each.

The Germans were not permitted to have any military or naval

organization whatever. Conquest was to be a forgotten word. No nation would ever interfere with any other nation. A thousand years of peace was coming . . . . . .

Some people were skeptical. Some were even cynical. The Federal Government as a token of gratitude granted a big cash bonus to each of the veterans who returned. The students of Princeton University formed an organization, with chapters over the whole country, called the V.F.W.—Veterans of Future Wars—with the slogan, "We want our bonus now." The students at Vassar College formed a Women's Auxiliary and petitioned Congress to send them on a political junket to Europe in order "to view the prospective graves of our future children." It seemed very funny at the time.

Germany had been disarmed, but the German people were by nature militaristic and the incoming generation refused to accept or believe in defeat. Nation-wide, a secret organization was formed which was military in structure. The members learned military drill and tactics, using wooden dummy guns. The elected head was a psychotic paranoiac named Adolph Hitler, an Austrian. The name of this organization was the NAtional SoZIalist Party, commonly called NAZI. It became the largest and most popular political party in Germany.

In 1918 after Kaiser Wilhelm II had fled into exile in Holland, Germany became a democratic republic of which the President was Friedrich Ebert. His successor in office was Marshal Hindenberg, the great German hero of the war, with Adolph Hitler as Chancellor. When Hindenberg died, no successor was elected and Hitler assumed the powers of government. He molded Germany into a military dictatorship. This was in 1933.

Through forty centuries of recorded history every dictatorship, in order to maintain its powers and to control its peoples, has always resorted to war, usually a self-justified war of conquest. This was true of Nazi Germany. Hitler repudiated the Peace Treaty of 1919; he openly built up a large army and navy and dared the other nations of Europe to interfere. In the spring of 1939 without any declaration of war the German armies attacked Czecho-Slovakia, a democratic republic under President Dr. Edvard Beneš and annexed it to Germany. On September 1, 1939, also without formal notice, they attacked Poland and from the air bombed the civilians of Warsaw indiscriminately. Two days later the British Government made a formal declaration of war against Germany. France did likewise. Europe again was at war.

Four days later the British passenger ship "Athenia" was sunk without warning by German submarine U-30, with the loss of 112 lives, including 28 Americans.

Europe was at war, but for the first seven months it appeared that none of the combatants quite knew what to do. Poland surrendered, conquered by the German Blitzkreig, on September 26, 1939. After that campaign the war became a "sit-down" war, each side watching the other and not wishing to be openly guilty of outright aggression.

The calm was broken with great suddenness in April 1940. Without any warning or declaration of war, Norway and Denmark were invaded, conquered and occupied. The next month Belgium and Holland likewise were invaded, conquered and occupied. On May 14th the city of Rotterdam without warning was indiscriminately bombed by German aircraft. The targets were not military, but were the buildings of the city itself, the purpose being to terrorize the civilians into submission. 814 persons were killed and many thousands wounded. This was only the second time[1] in history that a civilian city had been deliberately bombed from the air. The first time was the attack upon Warsaw, eight months before. This act brought a new concept of war,—that it was no longer between armies but between peoples, as it had been in pre-historic and pre-civilized days. All civilians were now considered as combatants.

The people of the United States were profoundly shocked at these tactics. There was no sympathy whatever for the Nazi cause.

In June, France was invaded, conquered and occupied. German planes machine-gunned the refugees along the roads. In August Germany began the indiscriminate bombing of the civilian cities and villages of England as a prelude to possible invasion. In this month-long Battle of Britain the Royal Air Force lost 733 aircraft, but the German Air Force last 2375. "Never in the field of human conduct was so much owed by so many to so few." The danger of invasion was over and a contemporary British poet wrote:

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1 Actually the third time. During the Spanish Civil War, on April 26, 1937 the lovely Basque City Guernica, in northern Spain near Bilbao was destroyed. The day was market day and the normal population of 10,000 was increased by 3000 more from the surrounding countryside. The attack, without any warning, was made by twenty-four or thirty German planes—Junkers bombers, Heinkel bombers and Heinkel fighters—manned by pilots of the German Lutwaffe. The plan of attack was the same as was used two years later against Warsaw: first, a few heavy bombs to terrorize and stampede the people; second, low-flying fighter planes to machine-gun the people as they ran; third, saturation bombing and incendiaries to complete the destruction. There was no opposition and in three hours and fifteen minutes Guernica, the sacred City of the Basque people, was obliterated. Bomb fragments were recovered which bore German trademorks. The City was at least fifteen miles away from the nearest fighting.

Nevertheless, in this hour, I swear myself no man's slave,
Nor no man-made god's slave either, believing that God's might
Shelters the incarnate spark, which no savagery shall quell.

Inexorably the United States was being drawn into the war. The sympathies of the people were whole-heartedly against German conquest and especially against the ruthless German attacks upon civilians.

In September came the "Great Swap," as President Roosevelt called it, in which the United States leased sites for air and naval bases in Newfoundland, Bermuda, and in six Caribbean Islands for which we gave to the British fifty "over-age" destroyers. Six months later Congress passed the "Lend-Lease" Act which gave assistance to "any nation whose defence is vital to that of the United States." Those words were ominous words and in February 1941 the National Guard was mobilized for training.

In April, the German armies invaded, conquered and occupied Greece and Yugoslavia. In June Hitler talked to the Japanese ambassador in Berlin and made a definite promise that he would declare war against the United States whenever Japan did so.

At 7:55 o'clock on Sunday morning December 7, 1941 without any formal declaration of war the planes of the Japanese fleet suddenly attacked the American Naval and Air Base at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. In 110 minutes one-third of the American Navy had been sunk, with the loss of 2403 American soldiers and sailors.

This sneak attack, although made with no formal declaration of war, differed from the German attacks upon Warsaw and Rotterdam in that it was directed primarily against military targets. There was civilian damage and there were civilian casualties, but the targets were military.

On Monday morning Congress immediately declared that a state of War existed between the United States and Japan, and between the United States and Germany. Our part in the Second World War had begun.

Erie's naval unit, known as the Erie Naval Reserve of the Fifth Separate Fleet Division, comprised about sixty men under

Lieut. R. O. Eaton, Commanding Officer

Lt. j.g. Benjamin W. Strickland, Executive Officer
Ensign Wyndham Reed Whitley, Engineering Officer
Ensign H. Bannister, First Lieutenant

In April, 1941 one-half of the unit was mobilized with Coxswain Fratus in charge and ordered to join the S.S. "America" as gun crews.

In May, seven months before Pearl Harbor, the rest of the unit with the officers was ordered to the U. S. Naval Training Station at San Diego, California. After two months Lieut. Eaton was detached for submarine service and under Lt. j.g. Strickland the unit was transferred to Philadelphia Navy Yard and attached to the USS "Stratford" (AP-41), of which Lt. Commdr. C. C. Anderson USN was in command. This ship was a small transport with a crew of 100 men. In October they were assigned to duty in Iceland and while there heard the news of Pearl Harbor and that war had been declared. The ship wintered in Havalefjord.

In February 1942 it returned to Boston and transported a regiment of soldiers back to Iceland, sailing in convoy. In June it returned to Boston for a long-overdue overhaul, and then sailed through the Panama Canal to San Pedro, Pearl Harbor, Suva and to New Caledonia, an island seven hundred miles northeast of Australia. On December 28, 1942 it sailed for the war zone and spent the next six months in the Guadalcanal area, taking part in actions at Tulagi Harbor, Purvis Bay and other places. It returned to New Zealand for overhaul in June, and then returned to Leyte Gulf and stayed in the war area until the victory of V-J Day and the Armistice of September 2, 1945. By then the contingent of Erie men had been scattered as replacements on many ships of the fleet, although Chief Water Tender Reck remained on board for the duration.

Erie's military unit consisted of Companies E, F, G and H and the Headquarters Company of the Second Battalion of the 112th Infantry Regiment of the Pennsylvania National Guard. There were 295 men in the unit. The officers were:

Lt. Col. Kenneth W. Momeyer in command
Capt. Adam J. Drielbelbies—Company E
Capt. Harry Douglas—Company F
Capt. Gustave Hoffman—Company G
Capt. Frank J. Friedericks—Company H

On February 17, 1941, ten months before the defeat at Pearl Harbor, the National Guard had been mobilized into Federal ser-

vice. The Erie Battalion left for camp and started its long period of training for the coming hostilities as part of the famous Twenty-Eighth Division. The training and combat record of the Erie Battalion is as follows:

1941 February-July—Camp Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania
July-September—Camp A. P. Hill, Virginia
September-December—On manoeuvres in the Carolinas
1941 December-December 1942—Camp Livingstone, Louisiana

In this period the Twenty-eighth Division was reorganized and Maj. Gen. Omar Bradley assumed command. One of his first orders was that no unit should be under the command of its own home-town officers. Accordingly the above-named officers were all transferred to other units. Training continued under new officers.

1942 December-April 1943—Camp Pickett, Virginia
1943 April—Sailed for England for further training

D-Day, the Invasion of France June 6, 1944 found the 112th Regiment held in reserve in England. Six weeks later (July 28th) after the capture of Cherbourg they were transported across the English Channel and landed at St. Lo, France. From that date onward they were in almost continuous battle action until V-E Day eleven months later.

A month after landing, they marched into the city of Paris with the first American troops. They pushed on to the north, keeping relentless pressure upon the slowly retreating Germans. On September 11th they entered the Duchy of Luxembourg and received from that government a special vote of thanks and congratulations for delivering them from the Germans. Three months later (December 16th) in the crucial fighting in the Hurtgen Forest (Battle of the Bulge) they brilliantly defeated a German counter-attack. For this action the unit was given the Presidential Unit Citation, a rare and deserved honor which has been given to few regiments. Each member is now entitled to wear upon his shoulder the badge commemorating this honor. A few days later (December 22nd) the fighting became so intense that the entire Regimental Band, carrying guns instead of musical instruments, was put into the fight—the Battle of Bastogne—and was captured, including Bandmaster Oscar Nutter.

In the next two months they fought their way to the Rhine River and (March 7, 1945) crossed it on the famous Remagen Bridge, the one bridge that the Germans had failed to blow up. It fell down anyway ten days later, as it was not strong enough to withstand the heavy

traffic of big American tanks, trucks and guns. But the Army Engineer Corps had already installed a floating bridge beside it—a feat they accomplished in exactly ten hours and eleven minutes.

V-E Day, May 7, 1945, found the Regiment still fighting daily in their march into Germany. They were then in the Duchy of Hessen, about 35 miles from Frankfurt. The war was ended.

On the home front, the Army in 1941 was much better prepared to administer a large organization than it had been in 1917. Congress again authorized the universal draft under which every male between the ages of 18 and 45 was subject to call for military duty. Another army came into being: the Army of the United States, for those who were drafted; the United States Army was for the regulars. This was a war by the whole people. In the City of Erie six Draft Boards were appointed, and four others for the rest of Erie County. The Board members were unpaid, and unselfishly each gave thousands of hours of work which was vital to the prosecution of the war. Without fail, each accepted his responsibilities.

In the four years of war, the six City Boards sent off to camp for the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard the following number of men: Draft Board No. 1 1689
Draft Board No. 2 2345
Draft Board No. 3 2260
Draft Board No. 4 2534
Draft Board No. 5 2600
Draft Board No. 6 2513—Total 13,941

This was ten per cent of the population of the City.

This was the number drafted in the City. From the whole County, including draftees, volunteers and college students in the R.O.T.C. the State records show that 26,105 men and women served. Fifty doctors enlisted.

Women were not subject to the draft, but were encouraged to volunteer if they could serve. The record:

149 Army Nurses Corps
155 Wacs - Women's Army Corps
208 Waves - Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service
26 Spars - Women's Coast Guard Reserve
60 Wafs - Women's Air Force Service

The complete war record of every individual who served in any

of the military branches of the services was compiled by the Civilian Defense Volunteer Office and is now in the public records of the Erie Public Library.

The casualty list of those who were killed or who died while in the service contains the names of 718 men and one woman from Erie County. Second Lieutenant Clare Celestine Riley of the Army Nurses Corps was killed in action in North Africa on June 29, 1943.

The civilian community of the City of Erie was well organized for the prosecution of the war effort. In addition to the six draft boards, many of the sixty-four permanent social agencies—the Community Chest, the Red Cross, the hospitals, the Welfare Bureau and others—were doing war work. To provide the many special services required for the war, thirty new organizations or committees came into being:

American Womens Volunteer Service (AWVS)
Air Raid Wardens Corps
Aircraft Warning Posts
British War Relief (Bundles for Britain)
Block Plan
Child Day Care Center
Civilian Defense Volunteer Office (CDVO)
Civilian Defense Speakers Bureau
Civilian Defense Soldiers Vote Committee
Community and War Fund
Consumer Committee
Civil Defense Disaster Council
Control Center
Emergency Farm Labor Committee
Fire Guards
First Aid Station
Greek Relief Committee
Messenger Corps
Nurses Aides
Office of Price Administration (Federal)
Ration Board (Federal)
Russian War Relief Committee
Radio Operators Corps
Recreation Committee
Salvage Committee
United National Clothing Collection

U.S.O. Lounge
Victory Garden Committee
War Finance Committee
War Services Committee

These agencies and committees, all vital to the war effort, were organized and manned by volunteers. Only the Federal agencies had salaried staff. The task of the proper allocation of volunteers for all these groups was assumed by the Civilian Defense Volunteer Office (CDVO). Two hundred and forty-nine people assisted in running this office, contributing a total of 16,389 hours of work during the thirty-one months that it operated, from February 1943 until September 1945. A total of 9,151 persons offered their services and were channeled by this Committee into the intricate web of health, welfare, recreational and civilian defense activities. Of these, 6162 worked with the sixty-four permanent agencies, and 2989 with the above special committees.

The war in Europe ended with V-E Day, May 7, 1945. The war in the Far East ended with victory over Japan on V-J Day, September 2, 1945.

The troubles in Korea began on June 27, 1950, with action by the regular army units there. This action cannot be called a war because war was not declared by Congress. However, it was of much greater magnitude than the "Police Action" which President Truman called it. It lasted exactly thirty-seven months, until the armistice of July 27, 1953.

For the fifth time in the nation's history the National Guard was called out and on September 5, 1950 the Erie Battalion marched away to war, this time to Camp Atterbury, Indiana, as part of the Twenty-Eighth Division. However, they did not see action in Korea. They trained at Camp Atterbury for fifteen months and then the entire division was transported to the Wharton Barracks at Heilbronn, Germany where they spent eighteen months. They then returned and were mustered out.

Although the Erie Battalion did not see active service, there were many Erie boys among the 477,000 Pennsylvania soldiers who did take part in this Korean Campaign. Fifty-two Erie boys were killed.

Most people associate war with death on the field of battle. However, it is a matter of record that before World War I more soldiers died from disease than from battle action, as the following table shows. The great advance of medical science in the treatment of wounds, the

checking of epidemic disease and the increased understanding of sanitation have changed this record. The Medical Corps has done a good job.

The following figures show the losses of service men of the United States only. The total deaths in all the armies engaged in World War II add up to the horrible number of 29,717,624. And—such is the kind of warfare which our modern "civilization" has developed,—the casualties of the civilian population were even larger.

WAR	MEN ENGAGED	BATTLE DEATHS	OTHER DEATHS	TOTAL DEATHS	PER CENT
1812	286,730	2,260	——	2,260	0.8%
Mexican 1846	78,718	1,733	11,550	13,271	17.0%
Civil	2,213,363	140,414	224,097	364,511	16.5%
Spanish 1898	306,760	385	2,061	2,446	0.8%
World War I	4,734,991	53,402	63,114	116,516	2.5%
World War II	16,112,566	291,557	113,842	405,399	2.5%
Korean	5,720,000	33,629	20,617	54,246	0.9%

22

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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■ ■ ■ After completing the purchase of the Erie Triangle from the Federal Government (see Chapter 9), the State of Pennsylvania took the responsibility for organizing its newly acquired territory up in the far northwestern corner, on the shore of Lake Erie.

On April 8, 1793 the General Assembly passed an act which authorized the Governor to lay out a town at Presqu' Isle. On account of the Indian War (Chapter 8) this was not done immediately. On April 18, 1795 another act was passed which authorized the Governor to appoint two commissioners to survey 1600 acres of land for town lots and 3400 acres for out-lots at or near Presqu' Isle, on Lake Erie; "in such manner and with such streets not more than 100, nor less than 60 feet wide. The town lots are to contain ⅓ of an acre, and the out-lots five acres, and the town hereby directed to be laid out shall be called Erie."

The Commissioners were Gen. William Irvine and Andrew Ellicott; they arrived in Erie in June, 1795, under the protection of Captain John Grubb and the Lancaster County Brigade of Pennsylvania Militia. Grubb was the tallest man in the County. They proceeded to survey the first section of the town; lots accordingly could be sold and settlement could begin. On the thirtieth of June the first settler, Dr. Seth Reed, arrived with his family. He was the first permanent settler of the City.

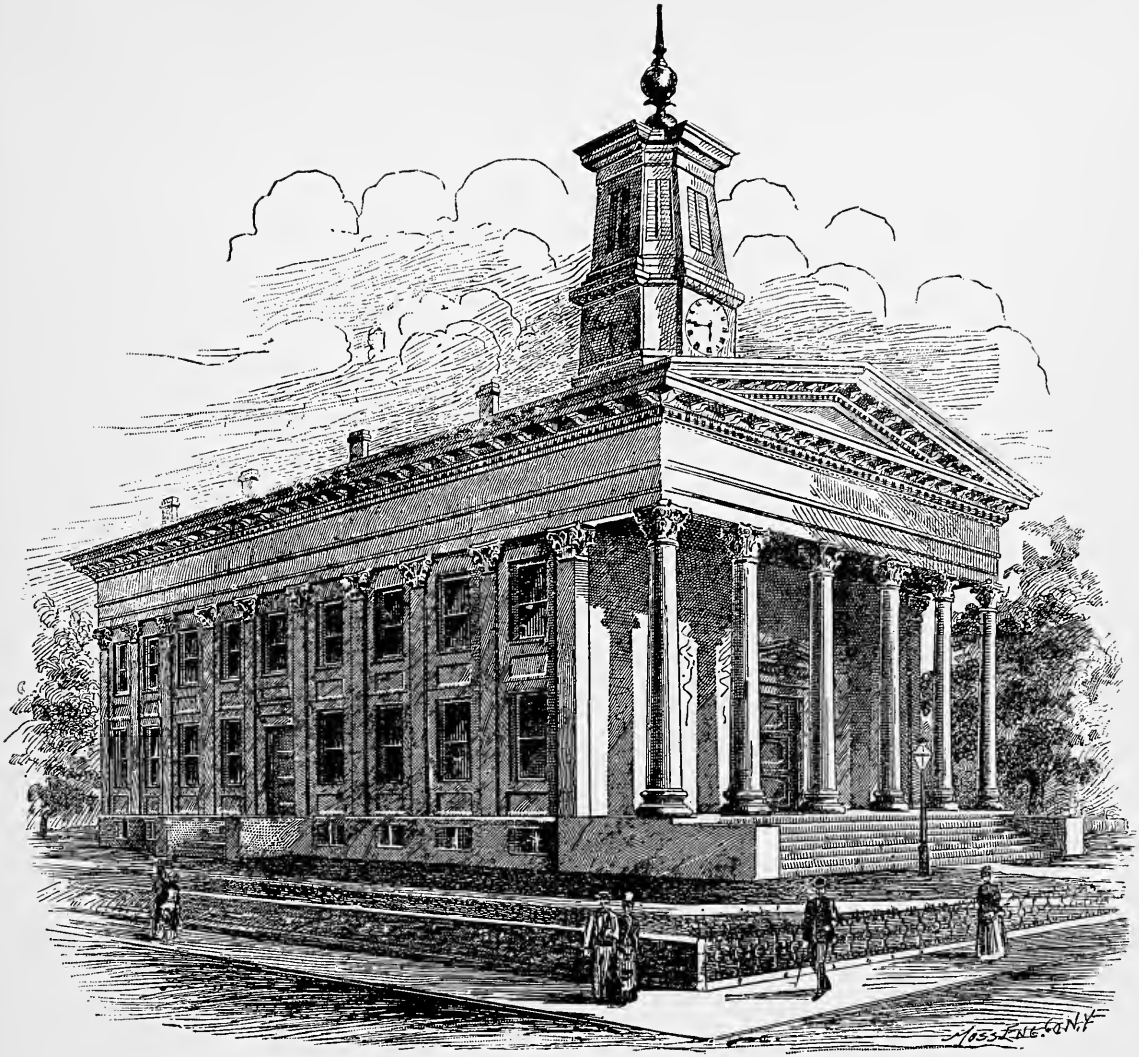
The County of Erie was organized as a political unit five years before the City was, by an act of the Legislature in 1800, when the population was 1468. On April 2, 1803 in the big room of George Buehler's Hotel at Third and French Streets,—the house which ten years

later Commodore Perry used as his headquarters—County Commissioners were chosen and court was held under Judge Moore of Allegheny County. The delay of three years was probably due to the fact that the survey lines of the 16 townships (there are now 21) had not been laid down. There were then less than 50 miles of roads, and they were impassible in winter. The first elected County Commissioners were John Vincent of Waterford Township, Abiather Crane of Conneaut Township and James Weston of Le Boeuf Township.

In 1810 there were 3758 people in the whole county. A building was needed to serve as a Court House and City Hall. Accordingly, with a generous grant of $2000 from the State, a large one was built in the West Park. The cost to the County was $1178.47½. In it court was held and all records of real estate transfers, wills and deeds were kept. On Saturday night the 22nd of March 1823, at the close of business for the week, the janitor emptied the wood-burning stove—there was only one—and put the ashes into a wooden keg to be carried outside. But it was Saturday and he was in a hurry and forgot to take them away. They smoldered, set fire to the keg, and from that the whole building caught fire and burned up, with all the records.

A Court House was a necessity. Ten days after the fire seven leading citizens advanced to the County the sum of "$2000 without interest" to build a new one. The County accepted this generosity and proceeded to let contracts for the building, to be erected on the site of the old one. It was completed in 1825 and was at that time the most elegant Court House in Northwestern Pennsylvania. For thirty years it was the center of civic life in the community, being used for church services, entertainments, concerts, public meetings and every form of civic expression.

Ultimately, this building became too small for the community and in 1852 with an imposing speech by Judge Galbraith the corner stone of a new Court House was laid. It took three years to build it, and the cost was $61,000. It was a pretentious edifice; it had a tall tower with a 2000-pound bell and four large clock faces; the foundation stone was hauled in ten miles from Howard's Quarry; the walls were of local brick which Daniel Young furnished at a price of $3.62 per thousand. Bricklayers were paid $1.50 for a ten-hour day. The brick walls, eighteen inches thick, were covered with plaster and stippled to imitate Vermont marble. An expensive iron fence surrounded it, to keep the cows out.



ERIE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

This building is one-half of the present building. The western half was built in 1930 by the Henry Shenk Company for $455,000, and then for an additional $160,000 the entire building was covered with synthetic imitation granite.

Two years after Erie County was organized, the people of the City felt that Erie was important enough to become a borough. Accordingly a petition was sent to the Legislature at Harrisburg and on March 29, 1805 an Act was passed which incorporated the Borough of Erie. The city limits were: on the east the Old French Road (Parade Street)

which ran along the Parade ground of the fort which the Federal troops built in 1796; on the south, Twelfth Street; on the west Walnut Street, which was far out in the country. The total area was one square mile.

French Street was the main street and continued to be so for many years. Most of the buildings were along the bay front, and clustered around the fort. Fourth Street was up town.

The Act describes the boundaries of the Borough. The North line was set as Front Street, which is accurately and carefully defined. This street was to be not more than fourteen feet above the level of the bay. North of it, along the edge of the water, was to be Water Street, six feet above the bay. There were to be no buildings on the north side of Water Street, and between it and Front Street no building higher than forty feet. Thus was planned the famous Bay Front Drive, which has never been built although it has been talked about ever since the City was born. In 1889 a part of it was built, the remains of which may be seen in the cobblestoned lanes north of Hamot Hospital.

This Act of Incorporation was carefully drawn. It directed the citizens who had been in residence for six months or longer to appear on the first Monday of May at George Buehler's house (it was spelled Beeler's) and there elect a Burgess and a town Council of five men. (Women were not considered to be citizens). A man who, being duly elected, should refuse or neglect the duties of office, should be fined twenty dollars. The Council had the right to own Borough property to the value of not over $3,000. They were to appoint a Town Clerk, a High Constable to collect the taxes, and a Treasurer to spend them. The Act specified "No tax shall be laid in any one year on the valuation of taxable property exceeding one-half cent in the dollar." That amount is five mills.

It also granted to George Buehler (spelled Buchlar) and Judeth Colt (so spelled) the two lots numbered 2066 and 2067 at the northwest corner of Sixth and Sassafras Streets for the purpose of erecting a church and a place of burial for the city.

The calibre of the men who accepted public office was of the highest. Serving the community without pay was then considered an honor and the best businessmen of the city accepted their civic responsibilities. The list of Burgesses and Councilmen is identical with the list of the best, the brainiest and the most successful business and professional men.

The first election, held on May 1, 1806, gave the honor of being

Erie's first burgess to Dr. John C. Wallace who was the honored and respected physician to the whole county. To the Council were elected Judah Colt, Agent for the Pennsylvania Population Company; Rufus Seth Reed, son of the first settler, merchant, mill owner, trader, ship operator, the most prosperous man in town; George Buehler, owner of the largest hotel; Robert Hays and George Schantz. Robert Irwin was elected High Constable, and William Bell, Treasurer. James E. Herron was Town Clerk. At the first meeting of the Council William Wallace, Thomas Forster and James Baird were chosen to be Street Commissioners. Of these William Wallace was attorney for the Population Company and the best lawyer in town; James Baird was the second settler here. Colonel Thomas Forster had been an Associate Judge in Dauphin County before coming to Erie.

The Street Commissioners immediately started the custom that every Saturday afternoon should be spent by all the men of the town in rooting out stumps from the streets, a custom which was carried on for several years. Later this pleasant task was reserved for those who had been convicted of drunkenness, as the job was considered a good cure for hangover.

With the government of the borough under the guidance of the best minds in the community, the growth of Erie was assured. The following is the list of Burgesses:

1806	Dr. John C. Wallace	Physician
1807	Thomas Wilson	Owner, large Shipbuilding Co.
1808-09	George Buehler	Owner, largest hotel
1810-11	Dr. John C. Wallace	Physician
1812	Samuel Hays	
1813	Judah Colt	Agent, Penn'a Population Co.
1814-15	George Moore	
1816-17	Thomas H. Sill	
1818-19	George Moore	President, U. S. Bank, Erie Branch
1820-21	Judah Colt	Retired
1822-24	John Morris	
1825-27	Dr. John C. Wallace	Physician
1828	Dr. Tabor Beebe	Physician
1829	Thomas H. Sill	President, U. S. Bank, Erie Br.
1830	William Johns	
1831	George A. Eliot	Attorney
1832	Thomas Forster	Collector of the Port

1832	Dr. Tabor Beebe	
1833	Thomas H. Sill	
1834-35	Joseph M. Sterrett	Editor, "Erie Gazette"
1836-37	J. B. Laughead	
1838	James L. White	
1839	William Kelley	
1840	Myron Goodwin	Merchant, Grocer
1841	Rufus S. Reed	President of many corporations
1842	Thomas Stewart	Merchant
1843-44	Thomas H. Sill	
1845	Charles W. Kelso	District Attorney
1846-47	William Kelley	
1848	Charles W. Kelso	
1849	A. W. Brewster	Manufacturer and Merchant
1850	Bethuel Boyd Vincent	President, Erie City Iron Works

After half a century the 5,858 citizens felt that Erie should be a City rather than a Borough. Accordingly, by an Act of the State Legislature dated April 14, 1851 the Borough of Erie was incorporated as a third class city. The government at first consisted of a mayor, a Select Council of seven, and a Common Council of thirteen. In later years the number of councilmen was increased to be 13 of the Select and 25 of the Common Council. These numbers varied at different times. The list of mayors is as follows:

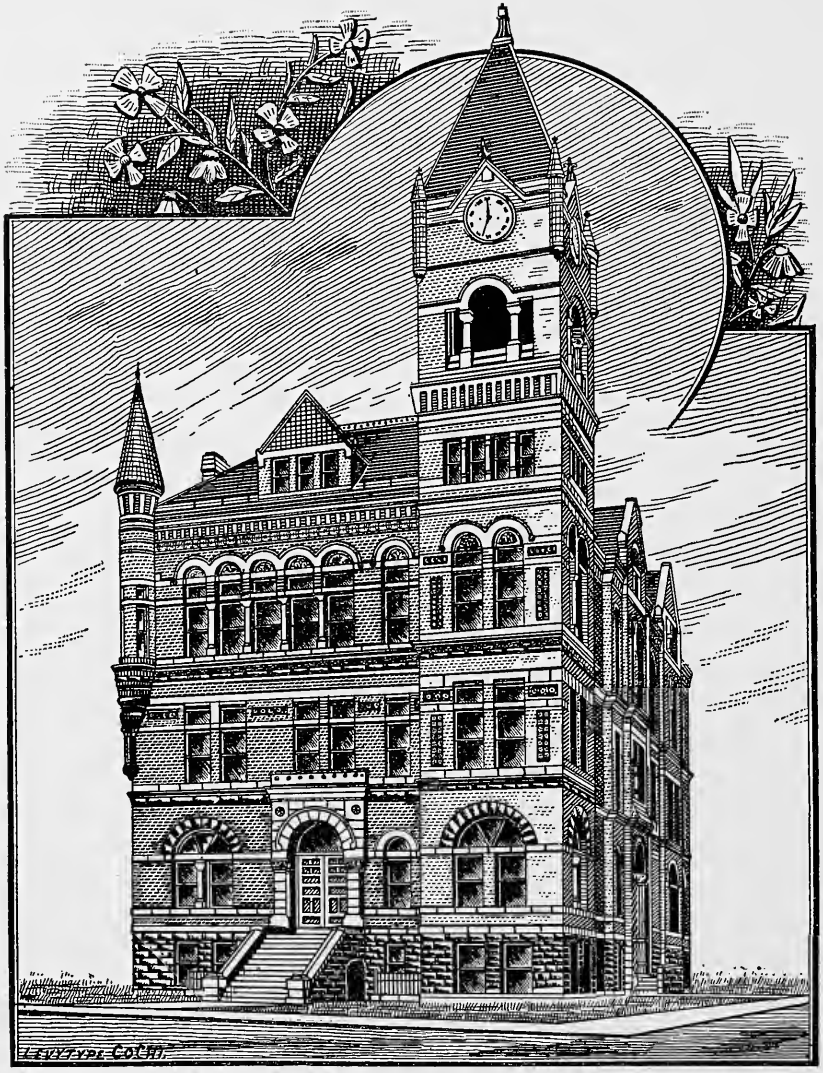
1851	Thomas J. Colt	Merchant and Banker
1852	Murray Whallon	Attorney
1853-54	Alfred King	Grain Merchant
1855-56	Wilson Laird	Attorney
1857	James Hoskinson	Contractor and Bricklayer
1858	Wilson Laird	
1859-61	Sherburn Smith	Merchant
1862-64	Prescott Metcalf	President, Erie Malleable Iron
1865	F. F. Farrar	Manufacturer
1866	W. L. Scott	Industrialist, Congressman
1867-70	Orange Noble	President, Keystone Bank
1871	W. L. Scott	Congressman-to-be
1872-73	Charles M. Reed	President of many corporations
1874-75	Henry Rawle	Industrialist
1876	John W. Hammond	Petroleum merchant

1877	Selden Marvin	Judge
1878-80	D. T. Jones	Petroleum merchant
1881-82	Joseph McCarter	President, Second National Bank
1883-84	P. A. Becker	Merchant
1885	F. F. Adams	President, F. F. Adams Co.
1886	F. A. Mizener	Owner, Pittsburgh Coal Co.
1887-88	John C. Brady	President, Erie Street Railways
1889-93	Charles S. Clarke	City Comptroller
1893-96	Walter Scott	Congressman
1896-98	Robert J. Saltsman	Insurance Company
1899-01	John Depinet	President, Erie Mantel & Tile
1902-04	William Hardwick	President, Erie Engine Works
1904-06	Robert J. Saltsman	
1906-12	M. Liebel, Jr.	President, Vulcan Rubber Co.
1912-16	William J. Stern	Liquor Merchant
1916-24	Miles Kitts	Attorney
1924-30	Joseph C. Williams	City Treasurer
1930-34	James P. Rossiter	Reporter, Dun-Bradstreet
1934-46	Charles Barber	Politician
1946-48	Clairence Pulling	City Engineer
1948-50	Joseph C. Martin	Sports Editor, "Times"
1950-54	Thomas Flatley	Sign Painter
1954-62	Arthur Gardner	Real Estate Salesman
1962	Charles B. Williamson	School Teacher

The City of Erie has always been fortunate in its choice of the man to be Clerk to the Select Council, the office which is now called the City Clerk. For seven years, 1858 to 1864, the Clerk was Jerome Francis Downing, Manager of the Western Division of the Insurance Company of North America, which wrote more fire insurance business than any other company outside of New York City.

Thomas Hanlon was City Clerk for sixty-one years, from 1871 until his death at the age of 88 in 1932, a term of loyal municipal service which is rarely equalled. Michael Henry, his assistant, served the City from 1907 until 1943, a term of thirty-six years. The present able incumbent, Eugene Graney, has been in the City's service since 1936.

In 1869, William Donald became Clerk to the Common Council, a post similar to that of Thomas Hanlon, who was Clerk of the Select Council. Mr. Donald served the City continuously from 1869 until his death in 1889.



■ **ERIE CITY HALL**

Until 1889, the salary of the Mayor of Erie was nothing. He accepted the responsibilities of the job for the honor of serving his fellow citizens. Beginning on January 1, 1889, a salary of $2000 a year was granted to Mayor Clarke. This set a precedent, and from that time on the job of Mayor was a full-time, paid job. The salary was increased at various times, in the following years:

1806-1850	Burgess	No Salary
1851-1888	Mayor	No Salary
1889-1905	"	$ 2,000 per year
1905-1915	"	2,500 " "
1916-1919	"	3,000 " "
1920-1927	"	3,500 " "
1928-1943	"	5,250 " "
1944-	"	6,250 " "
1945-1947	"	5,250 " "
1948-1954	"	7,000 " "
1955-1961	"	10,000 " "
1962	"	16,000 " "

In 1913, the Mayor-Council type of organization was discontinued and the Commission form of government instituted. Under this method the government was divided into four departments; the head of each, plus the Mayor, formed the governing body of five. The five departments were:

Department of Public Affairs, under the Mayor; Department of Accounts and Finance; Department of Public Safety; Department of Streets; Department of Parks and Public Property. Other principal officers were the City Clerk, City Treasurer, City Controller and City Solicitor.

Before the Commission form of government was adopted, the pay of the members of the Select and the Common Councils was nothing. Since its adoption in the spring of 1914, the salaries of the four Councilmen have increased with consistent regularity, as follows:

1914-1915	$1,875	per year
1916-1919	2,500	" "
1920-1925	3,000	" "
1926-1943	4,500	" "
1944-	5,500	" "
1945-1947	4,500	" "
1948-1954	6,000	" "
1955-1961	8,500	" "

The commission form of government was in force for nearly fifty years. In 1960, after a spirited campaign by the Citizens' Action Committee and other organizations, the people voted again to change the form of government to keep pace with the growth of the City. It now had a population of 138,440. The new form is called the "Execu-

tive Mayor" type in which the Mayor acts as Executive Director, assisted and advised by a Council of Seven who in effect act as legislators, while the Mayor carries out their decisions. Term of office is four years. A City Controller and a City Treasurer are also elected for the same term. The salary of the Mayor is $16,000, and of the Councilmen $2300. The President of the Council receives $2600.

In the first election for implementing this plan (1961) only four councilmen were elected, instead of seven. The reason for this change is that the former Mayor and two former councilmen had been elected only two years previously, for a four-year term of service. They did not suggest that they might step aside or run in the new election, but claimed their legal right to fulfill their terms, at full salary of $10,000 for the Mayor and $8500 for each councilman. In this election the new Mayor, a Republican, polled 52% of the 50,533 votes. Of the newly elected councilmen, two are Republican and two are Democrats. The three "holdover" councilmen, including the former Mayor, are Democrats.

The government of the City of Erie is not by any means a small organization. To govern the 138,440 citizens requires the services of 1287 people. Of these, 199 are police, 212 in the fire department, and the 876 others are in various departments. These figures do not include the employes of the School Board, which has 839 teachers and 427 others.

The winning political party has certain advantages over its opponent. On Election Days every City employe is assigned to a specific Polling place, to act as Poll Watcher. For this he receives his regular pay from the City.

23

THE WATER WORKS

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■ ■ ■ Erie has been fortunate in always having plenty of fresh water. Besides an inexhaustible supply from Lake Erie, the water table under the land is not far below the surface. It is usually necessary to dig or to drill not deeper than thirty feet on the average, to find a good supply of water. In the early days of the village every house had its own pump and well and frequently a second well out at the barn for the horses and cows. In the more comfortable houses the pump was right in the kitchen itself, an enviable convenience.

Nearly every house had its barn and every barn had its manure pile. Little was then known about sanitation. Many of the pumps were placed improperly and there were occasional epidemics of illness which could have been traced to this cause. As long as water did not have a bad taste, people considered it pure. They called these illnesses "malaria" and blamed them on the damp evenings.

When the Erie County Courthouse burned down in 1823 every citizen came running to the fire, each carrying his own bucket. The three or four wells nearby were put into use, but water could not be pumped fast enough. The whole building burned to ashes. It was then that the citizens began to think about a fire department. They thought about it and talked about it, at great length. It was not until three years later that Rufus S. Reed, the most energetic citizen Erie has ever had, took the initiative and formed The Active Fire Company, giving himself the title of Chief Engineer and Captain Daniel Dobbins Second Engineer. E. D. Gunnison was Treasurer. This Company was really a Service Club

and was also the leading group in the social life of the village. It gave gay parties which the members attended wearing splendiferous uniforms. Everyone had a good time. In the course of the years as the village grew in size and in population, other similar clubs were formed. The Red Jacket Fire Company in 1837; the Perry Fire Company and the Eagle Fire Company in 1839; Mechanics Fire Company No. 3 in 1844; the Vulcan Company in 1848; the Phoenix Hook and Ladder Company, 1852; the Parade Street Fire Company, 1861.

While these clubs were in social rivalry with each other, there was also another kind of rivalry, that of efficiency. When a fire occurred at a distance from the water supply, farther than the suction hose could reach, the rival pumps stationed themselves a long hose-length apart. Then the first pumped to the second company, the second to the third, and so on. Each pump was on a small wagon which held a box or reservoir for the water. When one company pumped water faster than the next company could pass it on, the box overflowed and that company suffered the disgrace of a "wash-out." Rivalry was intense. To belong to a fire company was a social honor. There were no paid firemen.

With the formation of a Fire Company, the Town Council saw the need for public pumps to be used for fire protection. In 1839, sixteen years after the Courthouse fire, there were seven of these pumps located respectively at Sixth and French Streets, at Fifth and French, Fifth and State, Second and French; one in Perry Square with a horse trough attached, one in front of the American Hotel, and one in front of the house of Captain Daniel Dobbins, Erie's most honored citizen, at Third and State Streets.

The borough was growing and obviously more fire protection was needed; this was proved in January, 1840 when the Mansion House, Erie's largest hotel, burned to the ground.

After Rufus S. Reed became Burgess, with his customary initiative he induced the Town Council to spend some money for this purpose. Several cisterns were built at strategic points and contracts were let for the construction of piped water from some excellent ever-flowing springs, known as Reed's Springs, in the hillside near what is now Eighteenth and German Streets. The pipes were of logs, usually chestnut, bored (by hand) lengthwise with a three-inch hole. The extremity of each log was tapered at one end and cone-shaped at the other so

that they fitted together fairly tight. This equipment cost the Borough $442.28.

A quarter of a century later, these chestnut logs began to rot. Furthermore, the City had grown until the population was almost 19,000 and people began to ask, "Why can't we have a modern system of water supply like the one in Detroit?" Erie had had gas street lighting in a few streets for nine years, and the people wanted to be thoroughly up-to-date. William L. Scott was Mayor in 1866 and through his initiative an act was passed by the State Legislature on April 4, 1867 which created a board of three Commissioners of Water Works in the City of Erie.

For seventy years this board managed the business of providing a supply of water to the community. It was appointed by the Court of Common Pleas. It was non-partisan and non-political. To serve on it was an honor. The best business men of the City were glad to do so and never has a public service been better managed. The Commissioners accepted their responsibility and as a result the people had an adequate supply of good water, at rates lower than those paid in other Great Lakes cities. The pay or salary of a Commissioner was established by the Act of 1867 to be four dollars for each day actually spent by him in attending to the business of the department. Thirty years later it was set at seventy-five dollars a month, and finally was raised to $150.00 a month.

The three Commissioners ultimately had the responsibility for thirteen million dollars worth of equipment and over half a million dollars in income. In seventy years of operation only thirty-two citizens served as Commissioners, and none of them served for less than four years except William L. Scott, who served for the first year only (1867) and then resigned to run for Congress on the Democratic ticket. Clark Olds, a prominent lawyer, served for fifteen years, during nine of which he was President.

George C. Gensheimer, a highly respected public servant, was with the Water Department for fifty-two years, from 1877 until his death in 1929. He was Secretary-Treasurer for 27 years.

After the passage of the 1867 Act, work was begun promptly to build a steam-powered pumping station. It was an immense undertaking for such a small city, and many people wondered if it would ever be fully paid for. It cost $675,000. This huge plant was built at the foot of Chestnut Street. It took water from Presqu' Isle Bay and

■ **THE WATER WORKS**

pumped it at the rate of 118 gallons for each stroke of the piston up a standpipe 253 feet high, from which it flowed by gravity all over the city. This standpipe was then the highest structure of its kind in the world. It was built and erected by the Erie City Iron Works, and was put up in an unusual manner. The top section was first assembled, riveted and erected. Then it was hoisted into the air and the next section was moved under it and riveted to it. Then these two were hoisted and the next section in turn was moved under and riveted, and so on until the entire standpipe was upright. Lastly a brick tower with a circular staircase was built around it, to support it. On a summer day people found it a pleasant stroll to climb the 364 steps to the top, from which there was a beautiful view of the city and the harbor. The view was worth the effort.

The first amateur wireless telegraph station was built by Kenneth Richardson in 1908. He installed his aerial on the top of the standpipe and thus was able to hear signals in Morse code from cities two hundred miles away. The standpipe was torn down in 1913.

Mr. Orange Noble, President of the Keystone National Bank, served as Mayor of Erie for the four years of 1867, 1868, 1869 and 1870 and it was under his guidance that the Water Department was properly financed by the issuance of bonds. The first President of the Board, William W. Reed, the first white child to be born in Erie, was responsible for the actual construction. He had formerly been General Superintendent of the Erie Extension Canal. Mr. Reed was Board President for twelve years.

This was an expensive investment for a small community. To help out, the City in 1870 by an Act of Council agreed to pay $900 a year to the Water Board if they would install fifty fire plugs at strategic locations around the City. The Water Commissioners, watching their pennies, were able to install seventy-six fire plugs for this amount of money.

The city continued to grow and after only five years' operation Mr. Reed persuaded the other Commissioners that there should be a reservoir up on top of the hills which would contain an adequate supply of water for the City, more than the standpipe could hold. Accordingly in 1873 a huge reservoir, holding 32,952,000 gallons, was built near Federal Hill at Twenty-Sixth and Sigsbee Streets. This certainly seemed adequate to accommodate any possible future expansion and growth of the City. Its construction proved more expensive than they had expected and the three Commissioners personally advanced their own money to meet the final payments.

Everyone was very proud of this new installation (1873), and boasted of it to all who would listen. "Now," said Mr. J. C. Spencer, President of the First National Bank, "every house is able to have a fountain in the front yard." Probably equipped with a concrete deer, an iron bench and goldfish. General Charles M. Reed, as reported by the Erie "Gazette," erected a "noble and elegant private fountain" on his lawn.

The intake of the pumping system was a few hundred feet off shore in Presqu' Isle Bay. This body of water also received the outflow of the City's sewage and the Erie Medical Society had for many years protested that the water was unsafe. A swimming meet for high school

boys was held in June of 1907 in the waters of the Bay, just off the Public Dock. One of the boys became ill the next day with typhoid fever, and died a few days later. This was the start of a small epidemic of typhoid fever in that year, which was serious enough to cause the Commissioners to decide to place the intake out in the lake. This was done in 1908. A 60-inch pipe was laid. It extended a mile beyond the Peninsula, for a total length of 17,000 feet. Again there was a difficulty in raising enough money to pay for the work, and again the three Commissioners, Mr. Clark Olds, Mr. William Hamilton and Mr. Willis B. Durlin advanced the necessary money personally.

The people now felt that the water was safe and it would no longer be necessary to boil it for 20 minutes before drinking. However, in the winter of 1910-1911 another typhoid epidemic broke out. It was a serious epidemic. The hospitals were so crowded that Hamot built a temporary addition which contained eighteen beds. There was a shortage of trained nurses which was relieved when a group of them was sent to Erie from Philadelphia. After much discussion and expert opinion, a Filtration Plant with two settling basins was installed in 1914 on the Peninsula which at last gave to the City pure water.

In 1929, under the presidency of Mr. David W. Harper, a radical change was made in the method of pumping. In that year an electric pump was installed in the plant at the foot of Chestnut Street. It was purchased from the Allis Chalmers Company, and had a rated capacity of 13,000,000 gallons. For some years the steam pump and the electric pump operated, rather distrustfully, beside each other.

As the City grew, a second pumping plant was needed. In 1932 the West Pumping Plant was built. It is now (1962) pumping 38,000,000 gallons a day. Its intake is a 72-inch pipe extending 8,800 feet out into the lake.

The growth of a city may be measured by the amount of water it consumes. In the first full year of operation, 1869, the Treasurer reported that he received in all $4,264.47. Three years later, 1871, he received four times this amount, $18,138.08 for pumping 361,048,680 gallons of water. This may be compared with the year 1960, when 13,418,720,000 gallons were pumped, with an income of $1,455,447.63. The amount of water pumped increased 3700 per cent, and the income increased 8010 per cent.

When the Water Board was established in 1867, no one had any thought that at some future time it might be found desirable to

furnish water to people who lived outside the city limits. Every farmer was supposed to dig his own well. But in 1909 the General Electric Company started a small plant in Erie under the name of the General Electric Company, Erie Works. In 1912 the managers suggested to the City Council and to the Board of Trade—the predecessor of the Chamber of Commerce—that they might build a very large plant here under certain conditions. One was that it should be built outside the city limits. To arrange this, the township of Lawrence Park was created as a separate political unit. Attorney James Sherwin arranged the details for the Company. Another condition was that the City should agree to furnish water. As additional legislation was required to do this, an Act was passed by the Legislature in 1913 which authorized the Water Commissioners to extend the mains outside of the City. Accordingly a large water main was laid out East Sixth Street to the new plant.

Today (1962) the City's pumping plants are furnishing water to the entire area surrounding the City. The Bureau of Water owns almost 451 miles of water mains, of which 103¼ are outside the city limits. The income to the department from users inside the city is $1,081,-823.66; from outside, $373,395.97. The rates for the users outside the City are slightly higher than the rates paid by those inside the City. The number of families served is 38,885 inside the city limits, and 7,300 outside.

For seventy years, from 1867 to 1937, the affairs of the Water Department were administered by the Board of three Commissioners who were appointed by the Court. They were picked from among the best citizens of the City on the sole basis of business ability and intelligence. No business concern could have been managed better, as is shown by their financial statement. On December 31, 1937 the report shows that, of $13,828,165.18 spent in building the plants and equipment and water mains, all had been paid for except $1,320,000. Furthermore, there was almost one-half million dollars in cash in the bank, —to be exact, $492,814.31.

In the 1930's, the City of Erie needed money. There had been a financial depression for several years, and people were necessarily slow in paying their taxes. Mayor Barber produced a plan whereby this profitable operation could be taken over by the City for its own purposes. A bill was introduced and passed by the State Legislature under which all right and title to the Water Department (which means ownership) was transferred to the City of Erie on the date of September first,

1937. In this way the City acquired $492,814.31.

In order to make this deal appear attractive to the citizens, the City proceeded with loud publicity to reduce the water rates for unmetered water by ten per cent, which gave a slight saving to most people. This reduction amounted to $49,759.21.

In 1948, this ten per cent reduction was quietly cancelled. In 1953, an increase of fifteen per cent was ordered. In 1958, an increase of twenty per cent for all metered water and for users outside the city was made effective.

The Bureau of Water now considers, oddly enough, that as a part of its cost of furnishing water it must also contribute to paying the salaries of the City officials. In the report of 1950 are listed the mayor and nineteen other officials, one-half of whose salaries are paid by the Water Department. For the year 1961, the sum of $104,505 was thus spent.

For seventy years, from 1867 until 1937, the responsibility for furnishing to this community an adequate supply of good water for domestic purposes and for fire protection, was assumed by the Board of Water Commissioners, three men who were appointed by the Court on the basis of their integrity and business ability. In that time they spent thirteen million dollars for plants and mains, and paid for almost all of it. The profits from successful operation were used to pay off the debt and to maintain water rates which were lower than those paid by other cities on the Great Lakes.

Under the control of the City officials, the rates have been increased and the profits from successful operation—it is a well-managed and efficient utility—are used not to reduce the rates which the citizens must pay, but are applied to pay the salaries of elected officials.

24

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

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■ ■ ■ A man is an animal, but he is different from other animals in one important respect: while they all have muscles which can be improved by exercise, only man has a mind that can be trained and improved. This is the function of Education. Man is an educatable animal.

Americans have always wanted a system of universal education. In the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 and again in that of 1790, there was a provision that there should be a school in every county "so that the Poor may be taught gratis." However, it took sixty years to carry out this hope and not until 1849 was the establishment of free schools made obligatory upon the county governments. In the beginning all schools were "pay schools," where the teacher was paid by the parents; his pay was small and usually not in cash but in produce:—meat or grain which the schoolmaster could sell to a merchant for cash. One Erie County school teacher was paid 200 pounds of maple sugar a month, worth about twelve dollars. The teacher lived with the families in turn, a month each. The school term started after the fall harvest and ended when the spring plowing began.

The earliest attempt at adult education was the "Spelling Bee." Frequently during the long winter evenings the neighbors gathered at one of the houses, chose teams and with great hilarity tried to "Spell each other down." Sometimes this game was called a Spell-Down. One of the senior citizens read a word from a book for the contestant to

spell; if he (or she) misspelled it, he dropped out; this process continued until only one was left,—the winner. The Spelling Bee was almost the only amusement in the long winter months.

Waterford was one year older than Erie and apparently had the first school; there is record of a school and schoolmaster there in 1800. In Erie, whenever Mrs. Reed, the wife of the first settler, was not busy she called the children into her home and taught them the alphabet. As her house was then the hotel, the only place where travelers could eat and sleep, it can be imagined that there was not much time for teaching.

The first real school in Erie was founded in 1806. Daniel Dobbins donated a city lot far up in the woods, at what is now Seventh and Holland Streets. The neighbors all cooperated and raised the sum of thirty dollars. For that sum Mr. John Greenwood contracted to build a log schoolhouse measuring 18 by 22 feet. It was named The Presqu' Isle Academy. Erie then had a population of about 100 people and the center of town was Fourth and German Streets. There was a pleasant path through the woods and along the grassy banks of Mill Creek from the city up to the new schoolhouse, a delightful location. It is a credit to the memory of Capt. Daniel Dobbins that that lot, which he donated a century and a half ago, is still being used for a school, Jones School. Six years later this tiny building had 69 pupils—39 boys and 30 girls.

In that same year (1806), with the education of the children thus provided for, there arose a desire for some education for the older folks. The Library Company was formed, with much enthusiasm from everyone. A subscription was started and the sum of $200.00 was raised for the purchase of books. The trustees, duly elected, were Judah Colt, President; Thomas Forster, Librarian; John Wallace, James Baird, and Dr. William Wallace. Erie was becoming civilized.

Erie was also growing and within ten years The Presqu' Isle Academy was too small,—too limited in size and curriculum. It taught only the beginnings of education called the Three R's—Reading, 'Riting and 'Rithmetic and not very much of these. People wanted their children to know more. There was great need for surveyors, for bookkeepers, for people who were trained to use their brains instead of their backs.

In the Act of the Legislature (1791) which ordained that the lands of the Triangle (see Chapter 10) should be laid out and surveyed and that the towns of Waterford and Presqu' Isle be established, there

was a provision that a tract of 500 acres be reserved for the benefit of any school that might thereafter be built. This land was as good as cash and to obtain it the Erie Academy was established in 1817. (Waterford had started the Waterford Academy six years previously.) The Trustees were Rufus S. Reed, Rev. Robert Reid, Robert Brown, Thomas Forster, Thomas Wilson, J. C. Wallace, Judah Colt, Giles Sanford and Thomas H. Sill. The purpose was to give training in such advanced subjects as could educate a person to become something more than a farm laborer or a mechanic. It was legally incorporated "As an academy or public school for the education of youth in English and other languages, in the useful arts, sciences and literature." It taught the primary subjects, and in addition some subjects which today would be at the level of junior high school. It was a "pay school," of course. The fees charged were very small. Even half a century later they were only $3.50 for Common English studies for a term of 10½ weeks; German and French studies cost $2.00, and Latin and Greek $4.50.

The Erie Academy started with the endowment of the 500 acres of land out in the county, to which the State added a grant of $2000 cash plus fifteen town lots in the City of Erie. The lots were located at what is now Ninth and Peach Streets. The Trustees wanted to sell off the 500 county acres and, with this and the $2000, build a fine stone building on the town lots. But the mothers objected that the location was too far away from where they lived and they would not think of allowing their younger children to walk every day up through the woods to such a distant place. For five years the school therefore was held in the "Yellow Meeting House" of the First Presbyterian Church. By 1822 the city streets had been laid out and the Trustees then considered it feasible to erect their own schoolhouse. This building, costing $2500, ultimately became too small for the number of pupils, and in 1878 a new and imposing stone building was erected. The Erie Academy was a private school for ninety-eight years, until 1915. For the next ten years it was used by the Erie Public School System as a trade school. In 1925 the Second National Bank paid $165,000 for the site and the school building was torn down. The name is perpetuated in Academy High School.

Education at the Erie Academy at first was for boys only. There actually existed in those days a prejudice in the minds of many men that the female mind could not or should not be educated. Women naturally resented this. In 1838 resentment flared into open revolt, and a

group of aggressive women formed the "Erie Female Seminary" with the avowed purpose of giving their daughters as much education as their brothers received at the Erie Academy. They organized and applied to the State for a charter, which was quickly granted. With the charter came a subsidy; whereas the Erie Academy had received a grant of $2000, the Female Seminary received only $300, but they received it every year. The school started, meeting in private houses. In the final years of its existence—it continued for thirty years—it met in Mrs. P. S. V. Hamot's home, the building which later became Hamot Hospital and was torn down in 1960. In the early years of its life the fees were reasonable, being set at $3.00 to $6.00 per quarter, depending upon the courses studied. This school ceased to function a year or two after the Civil War, because by that time the public schools were offering to both boys and girls a curriculum of many subjects in advanced education, and because the Erie Academy became sufficiently broadminded to allow females to enter its sacred portals. In 1871, there were more girls there than boys—62 girls and 52 boys.

In the early days, education included the basic primary subjects and nothing more. It was felt that children should be given an insight into moral values by some simpler means than the tedious three-hour sermons which all attended on Sundays. In 1821, through the driving zeal of Rufus Seth Reed, the most ably energetic citizen Erie ever had, the "Sunday School and Moral Society" was organized. Besides Mr. Reed, G. A. Elliott and Thomas H. Sill were the officers. At the meeting of organization, thirty people attended and enthusiastically subscribed $28.50 for the purchase of the proper books. Sessions were held only in the summer months, when there was no regular school. The report of accomplishment of its work, made after three years, states that there were 18 teachers and 81 pupils, and that they had learned 1625 verses of Scripture and 9453 answers to catechism questions.

By 1836 the City of Erie had grown to such an extent (population 3000) that its public school system was divided into four parts, with four frame buildings costing $310 each, and an enrollment of 340 pupils, 160 boys and 180 girls. In 1844 the system was consolidated into two big schools, built of brick, each big enough to hold five teachers. The West School was at Seventh and Myrtle, and the East School at Daniel Dobbins' old location at Seventh and Holland Streets.

In 1850, Erie City had three grade schools, and the cost of teaching amounted to 51 cents per pupil per month, or $5.10 a year. At that

time, Erie County had in all 293 schools with 9928 pupils. The first parochial school, St. Mary's, was founded in that year.

In 1866 Erie was in the midst of a post-war boom. The population was growing. There were five school buildings divided into nineteen departments with 2316 pupils, 1196 boys and 1120 girls. There were three in which the teaching was in German, and one small ungraded one for colored children. There were 47 teachers, of whom four were men. The total budget was $17,839.23, of which the State furnished $955.71. All fines in any Alderman's court for drunkeness, called "liquor fines," were put automatically into the school fund. That year they amounted to $330.00.

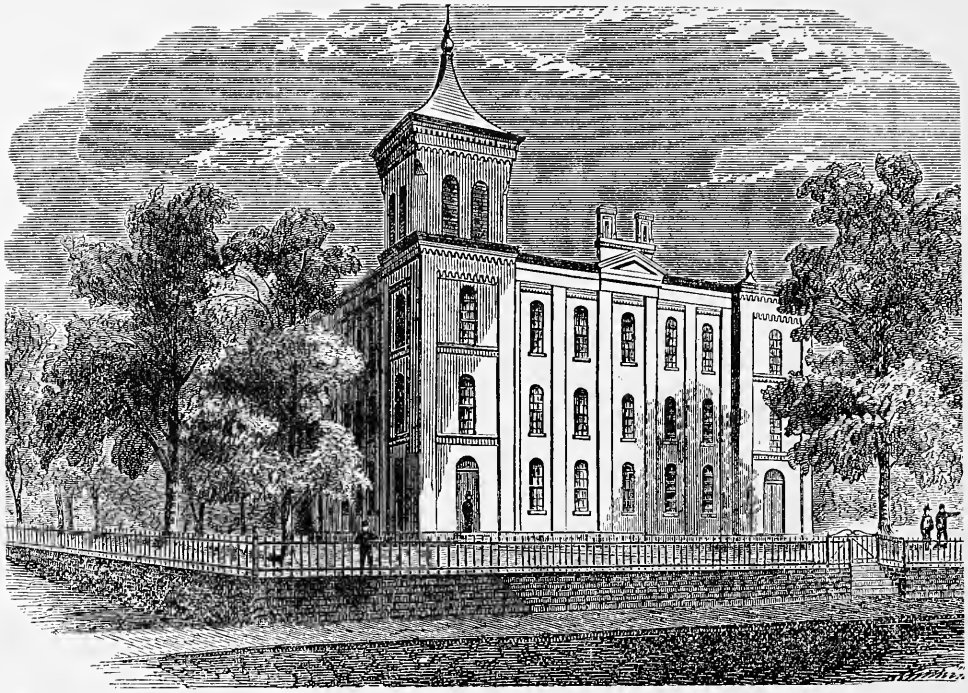
The schedule of salaries then paid to a school principal was $35.00 or $40.00 a month. An assistant principal received $20.00 to $25.00. Men were paid at a higher rate, but there were only four of them.

Professor H. S. Jones, who was then Superintendent of Schools, proposed to the School Board an idea which was radical—that ordinary students who were not going to college might sometimes want more education than they could get in grade school. His plan was to divide the departments into primary, intermediate and grammar schools, except for the small school for colored children which was not graded at all. Then he added another grade, the High School. This was an innovation and the idea was quickly and enthusiastically accepted by everyone. High School was popular. The first year 144 were enrolled, 58 boys and 86 girls; but they were no longer called boys and girls; they became ladies and gentlemen.

The first graduating exercises were in June of 1869, when Ottomar Henry Jarecki and Adella Isidore Brindle each received a "Diploma of Honor." These two liked high school so much that they returned the following year for more education and again were graduated in 1870, this time with a "Diploma of Distinction." There were eleven graduates in that class.

Professor Jones himself taught the high school, while at the same time he had the responsibility of being Superintendent of Schools at the salary of ninety dollars a month. The classes were held in School Number Two at Seventh and Holland Streets (now Jones School) and filled the entire third floor, four rooms.

After seven years Professor Jones felt that he was too busy and the Board agreed to hire someone else to be Principal of Erie High



■ ERIE HIGH SCHOOL

School. Professor Henry Clay Missimer was appointed in January 1873. He continued until 1890 when upon the retirement of Professor Jones he became Superintendent of Schools. At that time John Caspar Diehl, who had graduated with a "Diploma of Distinction" with the class of 1883, and a further diploma from Yale University in 1887 and who had been teaching in the grade school for three years at $75.00 a month, became Principal of Erie High School. He continued as Principal for the next thirty-two years, when in turn he became Superintendent of Schools.

In the year 1872 the Superintendent's salary was $1800, but he was given a Secretary who was paid $200 a year. Assistant Pupil Teachers were paid $25.00 a year with the expectation that they might be given a regular job after graduation, or be accredited to a Teachers' College or Normal School. This way of training teachers was one of the more unusual ideas of Professor Jones.

In 1870 the total budget was $32,884.76. Of this the State paid $2002.93, "liquor fines" provided $1319.50, and the taxpayers

paid the rest.

In 1885 with a budget of $86,851.00 the City of Erie had 19 schools with 4720 pupils taught by 109 teachers, of whom only eight were men. The total cost was $18.40 per pupil. There were also 1465 pupils in the Catholic Parochial schools, of which there were four: St. Mary's, founded in 1850; St. Patrick's, in 1863; St. Joseph's, in 1867; and St. John's in 1870.

In 1960 the City had a public educational system of which the citizens could be proud. There were eight high schools and twenty-four grade schools with an enrollment of 21,106 pupils, taught by 839 teachers. This is an average of 25 pupils per teacher. There are 427 other employes of the school system in addition to the teachers, making the average 17 pupils per salaried employe. The cost per pupil was $503.18 with a total budget of $11,202,247.00. From 1950 to 1960, the number of pupils has increased 34% and the cost per pupil has increased 64%, while the budget has increased 137%.

Outside of the City, in Erie County, there are fifteen high schools and 42 elementary schools, with 25,890 pupils.

In addition to education the City School Board has the responsibility for the health of the pupils in both the public and the parochial schools. In 1961, 4,990 pupils were given medical examinations in the public, and 2,883 in the parochial schools. In addition, nearly all the pupils were screened for defective vision and hearing. Eye tests were given to 19,811 public and 10,833 parochial students. Eight per cent of them were found to have imperfect vision. In hearing tests, given to 24,738 children, three per cent were found to have imperfect hearing.

The growth in numbers and in cost of the system of public education in the City of Erie may be traced in the following table:

YEAR	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS	PUPILS	BUDGET	COST PER PUPIL
1960	32	839	21,106	$11,202,247.	$503.18
1950	29	729	15,068	4,777,670.	306.10
1940	26	656	19,408	2,631,177.	135.57
1930	32	670½	24,507	2,030,885.	82.08
1920		352	15,242	859,713.	56.40
1910	20	263	9,455	218,488.	23.10
1900	18	217	7,884	197,066.	25.00
1890	16	154	5,440	85,603.	15.73
1880	19	99	4,244	68,425.	16.12
1870	14	56	3,500	32,884.	9.40

The figures in the last column, showing the annual cost per pupil, differ from those which are published by the School Board. They have been computed by the simple process of dividing the budget by the number of pupils.

In the schools of Erie County in 1961 excluding Corry, there are 23,662 pupils. The total budget is $9,346,119, of which the State pays $4,557,391.50. The cost per pupil is $394.98. The "teacher load" is 24.4 pupils.

The money actually received by the Treasurer of the School District in 1960 came from the following sources:

$6,844,719.14	from local taxes
2,800,541.29	from the State of Pennsylvania
29,658.29	from charges for tuition against non-city residents
637,285.21	from the sale of bonds
470,000.00	from bank loans
71,923.90	from "other sources," not particularized

In 1962 there are twenty-six parochial grade schools in the City, with a teaching staff of 283 and an enrollment of 12,407. This is an average of 44 pupils per teacher. There are six parochial high schools: Cathedral Prep, St. Benedict's, St. Mark's, St. John Kanty Prep; and for girls only, Mercyhurst Seminary and Villa Maria Academy.

Erie also has at this time (1962) four institutions for advanced education beyond the high school level: two for women, one for men and one co-educational.

Villa Maria College for women is operated by the Sisters of St. Joseph, founded in 1925. It has 735 students.

Mercyhurst College for women is operated by the Sisters of Mercy. It was founded in 1925, and has 500 students.

Gannon College for men started as an outgrowth of Cathedral Prep and was called Cathedral College in 1939. Two years later it moved into its present building at Sixth and Peach Streets, the former home of Mr. Charles H. Strong, and was named the Gannon School of Arts and Sciences. In 1944 it was officially chartered as Gannon College and its first graduation took place that June. Since that time, 1905 men have graduated, and two women. These two females slipped into the men's college because they demanded certain engineering courses which were not taught in Mercyhurst or Villa Maria College.

Since its establishment, in eighteen years Gannon College has grown to an enrollment of 1692 students and a plant of fourteen buildings. The Library was built in 1948, the Auditorium-Gymnasium in 1949, the Engineering Building and Annex in 1954-55, Wehrle Hall 1957. Dale Hall (1958) was named after the first Gannon graduate to be killed in the Korean War and appropriately is the home of the Reserve Officers Training Corps. The Lawrence Hotel Annex was acquired as a dormitory in 1961, and in 1962 the large General Purpose Building was erected.

The Behrend Campus of the Pennsylvania State University opened in the fall of 1948 with an enrollment of 70 students. Its site in the beautiful wooded hills of Wintergreen Gorge two miles south of the city was the former home of Mr. and Mrs. Ernst Behrend who donated it for this purpose. It is operated as a branch of Pennsylvania State University and has a full range of courses including academic and engineering studies. In 1962 it has its full quota of 325 students, one hundred women and 225 men.

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Erie has always been fortunate in its teachers, many of whom have raised the calibre of the community by their influence and inspiration. It may truly be said that it is the teachers who mold the incoming generation and thus form the community of the future. Of many such lovable and influential men and women, only a few can be mentioned. Professor Alaric Stone, an Amherst graduate, taught at the old Erie Academy for many years with the affection and respect of the whole community. At Erie High School, Professor H. S. Jones taught for thirty-two years and for twenty-two of them (1867-1890) he had the title of Superintendent of Schools. He organized the first Erie High School in 1866. Jones School is named for him. He was the vigorous, athletic type, very popular with young and old. He (with Mrs. William Spencer) first introduced the game of tennis to Erie. He retired in 1890 and died ten years later.

His successor in office was Professor Henry Clay Missimer, Yale '69, who gave forty-two years of his life to the children of Erie. For seventeen years (1873-1890) Professor Missimer was Principal of Erie High School which then occupied the third floor—all four rooms—of School No. 2 at Seventh and Holland Streets, now called Jones School.

In 1890 he became Superintendent of Schools with the entire responsibility for fifteen elementary schools, with 5203 pupils, and one high school with 237 pupils. He retired in 1914, and died in 1935 in his 88th year after having become, during his eighties, a successful life insurance salesman. The children all loved him and were happy to see him strut pompously into a classroom with a serious, even threatening scowl, then proceed to transform his expression into the merriest of twinkles and to tell a funny story, or perhaps recite with dramatic gestures and sonorous voice his favorite poem:

When you were a tadpole and I was a fish,
In the paleolithic age . . . .

This habit of his may have interfered with the class work and annoyed the teacher, but the children loved it. He preferred the title of "Professor" and was always called that.

Professor Missimer was succeeded by John Caspar Diehl, Yale '87 (1865-1952) who influenced the lives of the children for forty-seven years. For seventeen years after he retired he remained an important factor in the life of the community. He disdained the title of Professor and was not insulted when called simply "Johnny." Johnny Diehl was loved by all. He began to teach soon after his graduation from Yale, at a salary of $75.00 a month and no extras. Two years later (1890) he was made Principal of Erie High School—it was still up on the third floor. The next year (1891) he moved the High School over to its new building at Tenth and Sassafras Streets, which the people called "Jumbo School" because it seemed so huge that they thought there would never be enough high school students to fill it. It was equipped with porcelain lavatories, delicately called "earthen closets." It was built by Henry Shenk Company at a total cost of $115,000, including "opera chairs" from Grand Rapids. Mr. Diehl continued as Principal when the new Academy High School was opened in 1919. In 1922 he was given the position of Superintendent of Schools, and filled the office until his retirement in 1935. He organized the 6-3-3 system, under which the pupils spent six years in Elementary School, three in Junior High and three in Senior High School. Many are the stories which can be told about "Johnny Diehl," but one of the happiest recollections is that once the football team wanted to build a fence around the football field with lumber donated by the captain's father, and the wise teacher overlooked the fact that the boys were absent from school for three days.

Irving Olds was the football manager and after the fence was built not only could the team indulge in secret practice, but Olds was able to charge admission to the games, five cents for students and ten for others.

Many other devoted teachers could be mentioned, men and women who gave the service of their entire lives to teaching and influencing the children of the citizens of Erie. Their influence goes far beyond the simple subjects of their class rooms. It can be said that they, as individuals and as a group, have been the most powerful formative influence in the life of the community of Erie. It would not be fair to mention names as so many would be overlooked, but I may say that every student who attended the schools of Erie looks back with happy memory and fond reverence to those devoted ones who taught him, and were a formative influence for good in all the succeeding years of his life.

Such standards were well expressed, in the stilted language of the times, by Professor Jones in the "Rules and Regulations of the Public Schools," adopted in 1861:

> "Good morals being of the first importance and essential to their progress in useful knowledge, pupils are strictly enjoined to avoid idleness, profanity, falsehood and deceit, and every wicked and disgraceful practice, and to conduct themselves in a sober, orderly and decent manner both in and out of school, and to be punctual and constant in daily attendance and diligent in the pursuit of their studies."

ERIE PUBLIC LIBRARY

After the Erie High School had been functioning for five years and the young ladies and young gentlemen who attended it had come to consider themselves an educated body of advanced thinkers, Professor H. S. Jones suggested that such an eminent educational institution really ought to have a library. The Board of Education agreed with him and authorized the appointment of a Librarian, at the salary of ten dollars a year and no overtime. A wooden shelf was nailed to the wall of one of the rooms in the third-floor high school and was filled with books. The students were presumably delighted, especially as this was a school library, not for the general public.

Twenty years later (1891) this library had grown so large that it contained three hundred books, but even with this huge number the Librarian was still paid the sum of ten dollars a year. The idea of a library, of a Public Library which could be used by everyone, students and adults alike, spread among all the citizens. The City Councils, recognizing this, decreed that all fines collected by the Aldermen's Courts were to be placed in a special fund, called the Library Fund, for this purpose.

In that year Dr. A. A. Freeman, President of the Board of Education, officially stated in his inaugural address that Erie ought to have a free, non-sectarian Public Library under the supervision of the Board. He was enthusiastically supported by Mr. Benjamin Whitman, Editor of the Erie Gazette. Three hundred books were not enough for the 40,634 people of Erie.

Miss Laura Sanford, author of the first and best "History of Erie County" (1861) was also enthusiastic. After she and her mother, Mrs. Myron Sanford, had donated a lot on East Seventh Street near French, behind their potato patch, a public campaign was started to raise enough money for a library building. Enough was contributed to buy a cornerstone, which was properly installed and dedicated on September 10, 1895 as a part of the customary celebration of Perry's Victory.

But the public campaign was not successful because Dr. Freeman and Mr. Whitman were working for a better idea. They drafted a bill which would allow school districts to build, own, finance and operate free public libraries, and to issue bonds for that purpose. The bill was presented to the State Legislature and was made into law in June, 1895. In November of that year, urged especially by Professor Henry Clay Missimer, Superintendent of Schools, the Board of Education appointed a Board of Library Trustees and instructed them to build a Public Library. The Trustees were carefully chosen not on the basis of political preference, an equal number of Republicans and Democrats, but for their business ability and their appreciation of culture. The Library was intended to be, as it has since become, a vital force in the culture and education of the City.

The first thing the Trustees did was to return to Miss Sanford her gift of the Seventh Street lot, which they did most tactfully and thankfully. The cornerstone was ultimately placed in the Erie Public Museum and the lot was later donated to the Boys Club of Erie, who built their clubhouse upon it.

Next, the Trustees purchased for $21,500 the present location of the Library, facing Perry Square. Then they engaged architects and contracted with Henry Shenk Company to build the present building for $100,337.00. The total cost of the building, books and equipment came to $150,000 which was paid for by an issue of bonds ($110,000) and a cash surplus of $36,000 which the Board had accumulated. The sum of $4,000 was donated by public-minded citizens—half of it by Miss Sanford—for the purchase of books. Later a gift of $6,000 was received from Mr. Andrew Carnegie of Pittsburgh. On February 16, 1899 the Erie Public Library was formally dedicated and opened to the public, with a collection of nine thousand volumes.

In sixty-two years of service the Library has grown from 9000 to 242,274 volumes; in that time the population of Erie has grown from 52,733 to 138,440, of whom 28,958 are holders of the Library Card which is given free to any Citizen. In 1960, these card holders used 616,572 volumes, an immense circulation. All this was accomplished on a tiny budget of $169,063.00—amounting to $1.22 per citizen per year.

The money for operating the Library is given to the Library Trustees by the School Board as a part of their yearly budget. The Board for many years has been notorious as a field for political feuds between rival political parties. It seems to be the opinion of the members of the Board that the Library has only small value politically, that it has little influence in the casting of votes on election day, and therefore its appropriation has always been kept at the lowest possible level and its requests are displaced by those for more showy projects which are more profitable politically.

The Library now owns twenty-seven times more books than it started with, but the amount of room allotted to it is just about the same as in 1899. The entire second floor is now taken up by the many offices of the School Board, and many of us think that these offices certainly ought to be transferred to one of the disused school buildings, thus giving the Library the space it needs and deserves.

The report by the Cultural Sub-committee made as a part of the work of the Citizens Action Committee to Morris Rotival Associates, City Planners, (1961) states a self-evident fact: "Erie needs a School Administration which understands the value of the liberal arts and the humanities." The proof of this is the present starvation budget which is allowed each year to the Library and to the Museum.

There are five branch libraries, at Harding, Wilson, Strong Vincent, Connell and East High Schools. There are book collections for students in twenty-three public and in seventeen parochial schools.

In its life of sixty-three years the Library has grown with the community and is a vital element of its knowledge and its culture. Certainly Dr. Freeman's dream of 1891 has come true. This is due in great part to the efficient and devoted efforts of the Head Librarians. It is noteworthy that there have been only six, from 1899 to date. They are:

1899-1900	Mr. Charles E. Wright
1901-1903	Miss Katherine M. Mack (Mrs. W. L. Morrison)
1903-1927	Mrs. Jean A. Hard
1927-1941	Miss Charlotte E. Evans
1941-1949	Mr. William Bacon
1949-	Miss Helen E. Rilling

The Erie County Library was established by the County Commissioners in 1949, at Lawrence Park. It was organized by Miss Marion B. Kelly who was its Librarian for ten years. It is now operated by Mrs. Howard Schilken. A "Bookmobile" carries books out to all sections of Erie County.

ERIE PUBLIC MUSEUM

The Board of Library Trustees decided at one of its first meetings that Erie Public Library should have a department of Natural Science and to that end established a museum in the basement of the new Library Building in 1899. By 1942 both the Library and the Museum had expanded to their limits and a new location was necessary. The heirs of Mr. F. F. Curtze donated to the School Board the family mansion at Sixth and Chestnut Streets—the former home of Mr. H. F. Watson, built in 1895—to be used perpetually as a home for the Erie Public Museum. It is operated by the Board of Library Trustees. There are six full-time and two part-time employes, and the annual budget (1961) is only $40,233.00, but with this small shoestring of money the Museum maintains a continuous series of exhibits, educational movies, paintings, recitals, art classes and is the meeting hall for many civic organizations. Almost one thousand people enter its rooms each week. Illustrated lectures and moving picture films are sent out to all the public schools as a part of the scheme of instruction. The success of its work is due to the dedicated efforts of its Curators. There have been but four:

1899-1908	Mr. C. F. Laurie

1909-1919 Mr. Thomas L. Austin
1919-1941 Mrs. Katherine B. Blake
1941- Mr. John Alexick

The Planetarium, which is now operated by the Erie Public Museum, is installed in the building which was formerly the barn and coach house of the Watson Mansion. In 1958 the Junior League of Erie made a proposal to the School Board by which they would donate the equipment if the Board would house and operate it. Mrs. James McBrier was the Project Chairman. The offer was accepted with great enthusiasm. The Board spent $14,600 to put the building in good shape, and the Junior League raised and spent $12,500 for the equipment plus $6,500 for the dome and for air conditioning.

The first showing took place on March 7, 1960, before a group of students from Columbus School. Two years later as originally agreed the Junior League withdrew; full responsibility for its operation and maintenance is now assumed by the Erie Public Museum. The Planetarium is almost self-sustaining from the small fees charged to visitors; there is no charge to the children of the Erie Public Schools.

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Park Opera House

Grand Opening! Brilliant Attraction!

Miss Fannie B. Price

Monday Evening, March 17th

Thrilling Drama in Five Acts

NOBODY'S DAUGHTER

&

A laughable Irish farce

POOR PILLACODDY

Prices: Boxes $10, $15, $25
Parquette $1
Dress Circle & Balcony $.75
Gallery $.50
Reserved Seats $.25 extra

Every community in America longed to boast in vainglorious pride that it had an "Opera House." Erie was no exception and when, on March 17, 1873 the Park Opera House opened, every seat filled with cheering citizens, it seemed that Erie had at last reached the heights of culture. The four promoters were A. H. Gray, F. F. Farrar, W. M. Caughey and John Clemens. The theatre managers were Smith & Kennedy, soon replaced by Mr. W. J. Sell who continued as manager for forty years. In those days the worth of a show was judged not by the number of continuous performances on Broadway, but by its financial success when travelling around the country. There were many good companies of the best actors in the world who did not consider it at all beneath their dignity to play one-night stands. Park Opera House was host to the best-known and best-loved actors and actresses of the times. Opera, drama and recitals, monologists, lecturers and concert players, minstrel shows, all played their parts upon its stage.

After forty or fifty years, the tempo of the theatre changed and actors preferred to stay on Broadway rather than to travel with a road show. The Park began to slip down hill and to welcome a vaudeville show or a summer stock company. Next it was happy to accept burlesque shows, but by that time it was showing its age and the performers preferred to dress in their rooms at the Reed House, rather than to use the dirty dressing-rooms of the theatre. Between acts, still in costume, they often slipped over to the hotel for a cooling beer.

This was profitless theatre. In 1939 it was torn down—all except the east wall which still stands—and the Greyhound Bus Station took its place in North Perry Square. But no building can replace the Park Opera House in the affections of the Erie Citizens who can recall the stirring days when it was respectable and brought Drama to the City. Theatre was theatre then. In one performance the Villain turned to the audience and actually said "Damn!" right out loud. And on another evening—this time it was the light opera "Rose Marie"—between the acts one of the actors told the story of the sleepless king who couldn't sleep because he couldn't pull down the shade, and he couldn't pull down the shade because he couldn't reach across the street . . . . the audience literally rolled in the aisles.

Another surprise came during an excellent performance of "Rigoletto." The hero sang to the heroine in Italian and she replied in French—but it really did not matter because the huge ventilating fan

in the ceiling made so much noise that the words were indistinguishable anyway.

Other theatres in the City are, or were:

The Majestic Theatre, opened in 1904 at #22 West Tenth Street owned by Jerome F. Downing, A. A. Culbertson, Frank Walker and Mayor R. J. Saltsman. It gave legitimate plays, vaudeville and stock companies. It now is named Shea's Theatre with moving pictures.

The Columbia Theatre at #17 West Eighth Street originally started as the Alpha House at 812 State Street, built by Mr. Eugene Saerhen in 1909. When it moved it merely changed the name and the entrance from the front door to the side door; the theatre building is the same at either address. It was torn down in 1962.

The Colonial Theatre was remodeled from the Church of Christ Tabernacle by Mr. Andrew Weschler in 1906.

The Warner Theatre (movies) was built by a New York Syndicate at #811 State Street in 1931.

The Strand Theatre, now at #13 West Tenth Street, started at #924 State Street on November 12, 1915. This progressive theatre was the first and for many years the only one to show talking moving pictures. The first such show was on April 23, 1927 and the management had the audacity to charge thirty-five cents admission, instead of the usual ten. The picture showed Will Hays and George Jessell talking to each other and laughing, and the words were produced by a portable phonograph synchronized within a second or two, and were clearly audible within ten feet. This was followed by a solo by Giovanni Martinelli, similarly muffled. A year later (1928) came the first genuine "talkie" named "The Jazz Singer" with Al Jolson singing and cracking jokes, the whole film being his solos with no supporting cast whatever.

THE ERIE PLAYHOUSE

Henry Bethuel Vincent, musician, composer and scion of an old Erie family believed that this community needed culture, a closer acquaintance with music, with drama and with the intellectual side of living. He called in a few friends and they formed "The Little Playhouse," a group dedicated to having fun through amateur theatricals. Some modest alterations in the former rooms of the Chamber of Commerce in the Reed House on North Park Row—Erie's second-best hotel—provided the setting of its first production which opened to the public

on January 18, 1916. It operated only when someone had time to sweep the floors, dust up, make some scenery and rehearse some one-act plays. It was an immediate success and soon became the local center for the dramatic and musical arts. Its actors produced excellent plays; its artists painted novel scenery; its choral society and orchestra made good music. It brought famous lecturers and musicians for recitals. But—the activities of World War I interfered, the rooms were needed for other purposes more vital to the war effort, and on May 14, 1918 the curtain was rung down for the last time in the Little Playhouse, with a vivid production of "The Man who Married a Dumb Wife," starring Miss Rachel Davis.

The idea persisted, as all good ideas do. A year later (May 25, 1919) the Community Playhouse opened its doors at 1016 Peach Street, doors which originally had graced Erie's first electric light plant, then a brass foundry, then an automobile warehouse. For eight years this organization produced a series of excellent plays and dramas, light operas, community dancing and singing, a settlement school and many other activities which were designed to encourage the talent of the community in cultural self-expression. In the latter part of its life it concentrated on the staging of good plays and established a reputation which was acknowledged and recognized by theatre-goers over the whole country. The end came in May, 1927 when the landlord sold the building to the Y.M.C.A.

However, inspired by Mr. Vincent a public campaign in 1928 raised the money to erect the present Erie Playhouse on West Seventh Street as a permanent theatre which is now, as a semi-professional group, giving to the playgoers of Erie a continuing series of good theatre.

In 1962 the Playhouse, now incorporated as the Erie Civic Theatre Association, joined with the Erie Arts Council in the development of a new Civic Center for the Arts. The Pennsylvania Electric Company generously donated their unused plant—the Playhouse inherits a love for old power plants—at Fifth and Cranberry Streets.

ERIE PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY

The predominant racial strain of Erie's population until after the First World War, was German. The characteristics of this race include thrift, industry and a love of serious music which have been passed down to succeeding generations. In 1872 the Philharmonia Society was formed, ultimately becoming the East Erie Turn Verein, a

social club for people of German blood. For about ten years an amateur orchestra gave an occasional concert, purely for the pleasure of making good music.

The Erie Symphonic Orchestra was formed in 1913 by Mr. Franz Koehler, a brilliant concert violinist who for many years had been concertmaster of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Mr. Victor Herbert. Three or four concerts each winter were played in the Park Opera House on Sunday afternoons. Admission was free and the musicians were not paid. When the First World War interfered this orchestra of fifty-two musicians quietly disbanded.

But the desire for good music in Erie did not die. In 1921 Henry Bethuel Vincent, who had built the Erie Playhouse to success, revived the Orchestra under the name Erie Philharmonic Orchestra. He called together a group of thirty-five players who wanted to play just for the love of good music, in any hall that could be rented for nothing, with unpredictably occasional concerts. A small charge was made for admission, barely enough to pay for the cost of buying the music. This group continued to play until the Great Depression of 1929 arrived, when they were obliged to disband.

But the idea persisted. In 1935 under the stimulus and the direction of Mr. John R. Metcalf the orchestra was reorganized with both amateur and professional, paid and unpaid musicians. Excellent concerts were given and musical education was disseminated by means of comprehensive program notes on the composers and the works being played.

In 1947 the orchestra was again re-organized into its present form of professional musicians with Mr. Fritz Mahler as Conductor. The first concert was given to a full-capacity audience on November 4, 1947. The program was:

Concerto Grosso for Orchestra, D minor ..... Vivaldi
Symphony No. 1, C Major ..... Beethoven
Overture, Midsummer Night's Dream ..... Mendelsshon
Overture, Romeo and Juliet Fantasie ..... Tchaikovsky
Emperor Waltzes ..... Strauss

Mr. Mahler resigned in 1955 to assume the direction of the Hartford Symphony Orchestra. His place was taken by Dr. James Sample. Now, under his inspiring leadership the activities of the Erie Philharmonic Society include the orchestra of sixty-five professional musicians; the Youth Orchestra of high school students who play in the

■ **HENRY B. VINCENT**

schools and twice yearly appear on a regular concert; the Phil-Macs, also of high school age who meet occasionally with Dr. Sample to learn about music, and who provide the ushers for the concerts; the Women's Auxiliary, who annually give the "Viennese Ball" for the financial support of the Society, raising several thousand dollars; and the Philharmonic Chorus of one hundred voices whose annual concert at the beginning of the Christmas season of Handel's "Messiah" has become a traditional treat.

ART CLUB OF ERIE

To three Erie women is given credit for maintaining interest in all forms of the arts: Mrs. Lovisa Card Catlin, Miss Harriet Carroll and Miss Myrtle Lord. They met with sixteen friends on January 21, 1898 and formed the Art Club of Erie. Their inspiration was so enthusiastic that the following year they had 137 members and in 1962, 332 members, all active. In 1957 the Club purchased (almost gratis) from the heirs of Capt. William L. Morrison their present home at 338 West Sixth Street next to the Public Museum. There the many activities are now carried on, including classes in painting, sketching, modelling, etching

and sculpture. The opening of the new center was celebrated by an exhibition of the works of Mr. George Ericson (Eugene Iverd) who until his death in 1936 was a well-loved citizen of Erie.

ERIE ARTS COUNCIL

The purpose of the Arts Council is to act as a united public voice for the arts in matters which concern them; to plan cooperative promotions for their members; to eliminate overlapping administrative, promotional and fund-raising activities. The Erie Council is the thirty-fourth such council to receive a charter from Community Arts Councils, Inc. and is the only Pennsylvania city to be so honored.

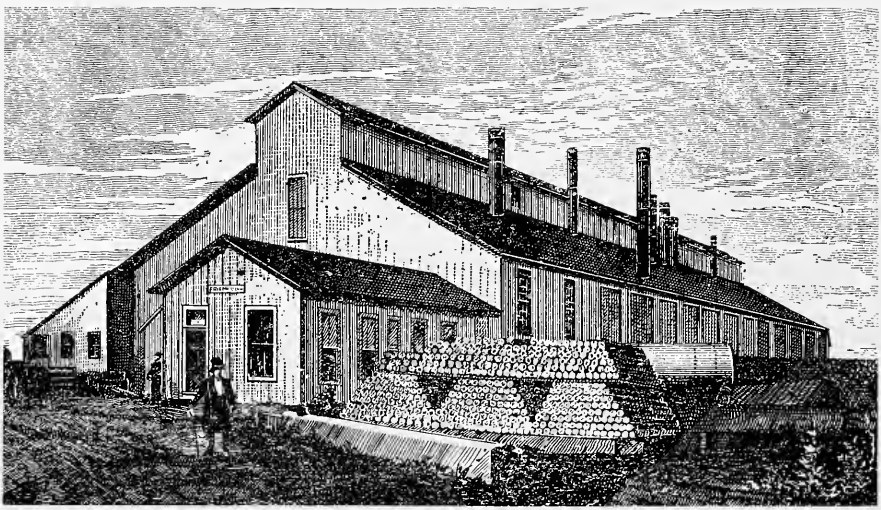
The idea started in 1953 with the Arts Council Aides, a group inspired by Mrs. N. F. Alberstadt to assist the Erie Playhouse summer theatre, and in general to encourage every form of artistic expression. The Junior League Community Arts Committee cooperated fully. In 1960 four associations united to receive a charter officially as Erie Arts Council, comprising the Art Club of Erie, Erie Civic Theatre Association, Erie Philharmonic Society and Erie Civic Ballet Company.

In January 1962 the Pennsylvania Electric Company donated to the Erie Civic Theatre Association their disused generating plant at Fifth and Cranberry Streets with the stipulation that the building should be remodeled and used as a center for the arts, including a theatre for the Playhouse, an Art Gallery, and a concert hall for the Orchestra and the Ballet. As an incidental note, the basement is to be a fall-out shelter.

In the season 1961-1962 there were in Erie eighteen concerts, thirty-three lectures, six ballets, three plays and three exhibitions, in addition to the continuous offerings of the Erie Playhouse (Erie Civic Theatre Association) and the Planetarium. A list of organizations devoted to cultural aims is as follows:

Art Club of Erie
Erie Civic Theatre Association
Erie Civic Ballet Company
Erie Philharmonic Society
Civic Music Association
Color Slide Club
Erie County Historical Society
Erie Jazz Society
Erie Symphonic Choir

Federation of Garden Clubs
Great Books Courses
International Institute
Mercyhurst Lecture Series
Pennsylvania Guild of Craftsmen
Public Museum
Villa Cultural Series
Travel Club
Temple Book Reviews
Y Camera Club
21 Potters



■ THE ERIE FORGE COMPANY

25

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

History is actually the record of the changing intentions, accomplishments and failures of people as individuals and as a community. In an agricultural age public interest is in soil, new crops, new methods of agriculture, new fertilizers; in a commercial age, in travel, communication and shipping; in an industrial age, in the development and sale of manufactured products.

In 1795, when the Federal troops under Captain Russell Bissell arrived at Presqu' Isle, they erected a sawmill to give them lumber with which to build houses. This mill was powered by Mill Creek and gave the creek its name. In 1798 Thomas Forster built a gristmill at the mouth of Walnut Creek for grinding into coarse flour the Indian corn and barley and wheat of the settlers. The next year Rufus Reed built a gristmill on Mill Creek, above the sawmill. In 1803, Isaac Austin built a brickyard, also beside Mill Creek.[1]

In 1800 the tide of settlers into Erie was just beginning to arrive. Land titles were confused. Communication with other more civilized parts of the country was slow. People thought only of clearing the land and making comfortable, prosperous farms for themselves and their numerous children. The best farms were almost self-contained; they could provide nearly everything the family needed except firearms. There were no shopping centers.

1 It is believed that the French soldiers, when they first built a fort at the mouth of Mill Creek in 1753, manufactured brick in very limited quantity, just enough to construct a small building to shelter their powder.

In the development of the land, the first industries to be established were the sawmills and the gristmills. By 1820 there were sawmills on almost every stream of the county. Many shingle mills, lathmills, planing mills were operating. Timber was needed for ship-building and for house-building. A sawmill could usually double as a gristmill for part of the year. Then, as the timber was cut off, the farms grew larger. Cattle were raised. There were no slaughter houses but the cattle were driven, on foot, to the eastern cities of Philadelphia and New York. Besides beef cattle, dairy farms were started which brought into existence dairies for cream and butter, and cheese factories. The next enterprises in civilizing the country were tanneries, breweries, brick kilns, woolen mills, paper mills and wood-working mills in which were made such specialties as spokes, gudgeons, chairs, furniture and carriages.

The business of portaging salt from Lake Erie to French Creek, which had amounted to 6000 barrels in 1806, had come to an end with the discovery in 1819 of some salt wells at Tarentum, east of Pittsburgh. Occasionally, as the salt water was pumped up, a big blob of black goo would appear, spoiling the salt. Mr. Samuel M. Kier, a canal boat operator on the Main Line between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, created a profitable business by bottling this stuff and selling it as medicine, calling it "Petroleum, or Rock Oil," a "remedy of wonderful efficacy; the lame are made to walk, the blind to see. Those who have suffered pains and torture for years are restored to health and usefulness. This is the most wonderful remedy ever discovered."

A Dartmouth graduate, Dr. Francis Brewer of Titusville, carried a bottle of this substance to his chemistry teachers, Professor O. P. Hubbard and Dr. Dixi Crosby. Laboratory technique of chemical analysis was then in its infancy. The usual procedure consisted of two operations, to boil and to smell. The professors did this; they boiled the stuff and smelled the result. They made the discovery that it separated into liquids of different density and gave off a lot of smelly vapor which was not exactly steam. They also found that the liquid would burn and, with a proper wick and globe to shield it from drafts, would give a light as good as that from whale oil. These results were confirmed by Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr. of Yale, the foremost chemist of the country. Thus the oil industry was born.

By 1840, commerce was in the mind of everyone. General Charles M. Reed (he was General of the Erie County Militia with a gor-

geous gold-trimmed uniform) owned a large fleet of ships which carried the commerce of the Great Lakes. One of them, the "James Madison" (1837), could carry almost a thousand passengers and was busy transporting the European immigrants from Buffalo to the mid-west. These ships were called "Floating Palaces" and were equipped with all the luxuries of berths, dining rooms and bars. They had everything except safety equipment. On a pleasant August evening in 1841, the Steamship "Erie," when midway between Buffalo and Erie, caught fire and burned with the loss of 249 lives, mostly immigrants.

In 1820 there were one steamboat and 25 sailing vessels on Lake Erie. In 1837 there were 50 steamships and 230 sailing vessels. In 1847 there were 67 steamships, 26 propeller ships, 3 barques, 64 brigs and 340 schooners. In 1860 on Lakes Erie and Ontario there were 138 steamships, 197 propeller ships, 58 barques, 90 brigs and 974 schooners. These figures give an idea of the volume of transportation in part of the Great Lakes country before the advent of railroads. From west to east the ships carried grain. From east to west they carried passengers, mostly immigrants from Ireland and Germany. The Irish Potato Famine (1845-46) brought many thousands of Irish to this country, to Erie and to the west.

With the coming of the Erie Extension Canal in 1844 the prospects for Erie's future were bright. Water was the natural route of travel and commerce. All the wealth of the interior of this continent was expected to pour to the eastern seaboard by two routes: down the Great Lakes, or up the Ohio River to the Erie Extension Canal and on to the Erie Canal. These were the natural routes to get around the barrier of the Allegheny Mountains. Since no other Great Lakes city was as close to the coal mines of western Pennsylvania, with the opening of the canal Erie was expected to become an important station for all coal-fired steamers, as well as a busy and prosperous port of commerce.

It was in 1840 that Erie's first iron manufactory was initiated. About three miles west of the city on the Laird farm, there was a large bog filled with a reddish mud. This was bog ore and could be smelted into pure iron. Several men had tried experimentally to do this, with only partial success. Finally four men, Bethuel Boyd Vincent, W. H. Johnson, David and William Himrod undertook to build an iron foundry. Vincent put up the money, Johnson had the know-how, and the Himrod boys did the work. They built the Presqu' Isle Foundry, which today is the Erie City Iron Works.

This Company received some excellent orders when the railroads arrived. In 1859 they built 200 freight cars for the Buffalo and Erie Railroad, and also 148 for the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad.

Between 1840 and 1880 Erie became an acknowledged manufacturing center. The lake traffic, the canal, the railroads and the favorable location halfway between New York and Chicago—all these factors combined to make the City an attractive center for industry. At various times, several hundred concerns came into existence. Most of them have disappeared.

In 1838 a large and important enterprise came to Erie. Mr. P. C. Blancon—he preferred to be M'sieur—was a rich and energetic Frenchman who had lived in the same city in France in which Mr. P. S. V. Hamot had been born. When he reached middle age, he had acquired considerable wealth and he decided that he would emigrate to the New World, not to make his fortune there but to spend it and perhaps to augment it. He succeeded. He picked out the young city of Erie because he was acquainted with the family of Mr. Hamot, who had left France thirty-three years before.

In that year of 1838 he came with his wife to join this community of three thousand people. He was a friendly man of the "Hail-Fellow-Well-Met" type and was welcomed by all the other business men. He was well-liked and respected. His wife also became a part of Erie society with the wives of the Erie business men, but unfortunately she assumed a superior attitude, carefully informing everyone that she had come to this frontier village from the highest social circles of France and that King Louis Philippe himself had once almost spoken to her. The ladies of this republican village were unfavorably impressed. She was not popular.

Mr. Blancon had big ideas of conducting an enterprise in a country which was free from governmental interference. He purchased a large tract of land about a mile west of the village, extending from what is now Cascade Street to the head of Presqu' Isle Bay. It was flat land well-covered with black walnut, oak, maple and chestnut trees, all virgin growth and excellent timber. He hired a contractor named Dougherty to build a huge mill building—he always did things in a big way—which was three stories high and covered more than two acres of land. This was on the west side of Cascade Street. In this building he started a number of businesses, including a sawmill, a gristmill, a woolen mill, a cooperage and a distillery. He also raised and slaugh-

tered hogs, feeding them on the by-products of the distillery. The grist-mill had three run of stones, all imported from France. The sawmill was so large that it had a gang of sixteen saws all operating at once, and the planing mill could handle a sixty-foot plank in one operation, as could the grooving plane. It was big business.

To provide the most modern and efficient power for the mill, he purchased in Philadelphia a large steam boiler and engine, so big that it took six heavy teams of oxen six weeks to haul it from that place to Erie.

The business of this huge concern was not local. Its markets were in the east, reached through Buffalo and the Erie Canal. He shipped whiskey, cloth, finished lumber, salt pork and other products. There were many tons to be shipped, and to handle all this he chartered several schooners under his own name and house flag. He did not own these, he merely chartered them. At the foot of Cascade Street he built a pier for his ships and a warehouse.

At that time Presqu' Isle Peninsula was an island. There was an opening a mile and a quarter wide at its western end and through it ran a good channel of ten-foot depth. Blancon's schooners always used this entrance as it was much more convenient to their loading pier.

For about four years the mill operated successfully and was a credit to the community in a business sense. In a social sense the verdict was just the opposite. There was much female friction in the small village, which need not be recorded in detail. The democratic citizens, and citizenesses, were not impressed nor over-awed by French aristocracy.

Since 1823 the Federal government had assumed the responsibility of maintaining the channels and harbors of the Great Lakes. Suitable funds for Erie Harbor had been granted by Congress, ranging from $150 up to $20,000, in almost every year until 1838. At that time an "economy block" in Congress took control of the public purse and the Army Engineers auctioned off their dredging equipment for scrap, shrugged their shoulders and told the Great Lakes ports to look out for themselves.

All the harbors suffered, and especially Erie. The editorial pages of all the newspapers of this region were filled with bitter attacks upon this policy of refusing to accept the responsibility for the lake traffic, but to no avail, as the politicians of Washington were more concerned at that time with the question of slavery in the new states of the

mid-west. Not until after the Civil War did the Army Engineers again do the job.

Erie Harbor had two entrances. The eastern one had two protecting piers and by natural scouring action of the waves and the lake current, kept itself fairly well open, almost to the desired depth of sixteen feet. The western entrance, which had been 400 feet wide with ten-foot depth, became silted up until at last it was closed completely. Mr. Blancon's schooners could not use it.

One morning, Mr. Blancon was informed that his schooners were forbidden to use the eastern entrance of the harbor.

The Superintendent of the Peninsula, the equivalent of Harbormaster, was the venerable Rufus Seth Reed. His son General Charles Manning Reed was the wealthiest and the biggest business man of Erie. Among his many enterprises, he owned and operated a large fleet of ships, steamers as well as schooners, which travelled over all the Great Lakes. It is probable that he desired the business of hauling Mr. Blancon's freight shipments. There were probably other factors. There undoubtedly was some female spite . . . . . It is idle to speculate, a century and a quarter later, upon all the possible or probable reasons, but the fact is that Mr. Blancon with his aristocratic wife suddenly abandoned his huge mill and his prosperous business, shook the dust—there was lots of it—of Erie from his French feet and became a successful wine merchant in New York City where the patrician propensities of his wife were better appreciated.

The huge mill was abandoned and remained empty for half a century until it fell to pieces. The thousand acres of well-timbered land lay idle. The taxes were unpaid. After a few years this land was sold for the amount of the back taxes. General Reed had first choice and took for himself two-fifths of it. Mr. P. S. V. Hamot bought a section, and another was bought by Mr. John A. Tracy, who was the father-in-law of Hon. William L. Scott.

These surnames still survive in this section of the City.

Several other concerns who were large employers of men have gone out of existence. The Jarecki Manufacturing Company was started in 1850 by Henry and Charles Jarecki shortly after they had arrived from Germany. At first it was a small foundry and machine shop and when the "Oil Boom" started in 1859 they manufactured equipment for oil drilling and piping. With this rush of business they were soon employing 400 men. In later years this number reached

over a thousand. The company went out of business in 1949.

The Erie City Iron Works had been building freight cars for the railroads. They decided to confine their work to the building of steam engines and boilers and in 1868 established the Erie Car Works as a branch operation. William R. Davenport was president, and William Z. Galbraith treasurer. This division operated until the financial panic of 1890-1, when the railroads had no money and bought no freight cars. On September 24, 1894 the plant was completely destroyed by fire.

Two of the foremen of this company, William Hamilton and Julius C. Knoll, felt that there was a future in that business and started the second Erie Car Works with their own meagre savings, soon employing 600 men. They were successful and after a few years built a large plant at Seventeenth and Raspberry Streets. In its turn it too burned down in a tremendous fire on New Year's Eve, December 31, 1920.

Another large plant, employing three hundred men, was the Mount Hickory Iron Company, started in 1879 by W. L. Scott. A large plant for rolling merchant bar iron was built on Rolling Mill Road—now named Green Garden Road. But on a wintry night in 1885 it caught fire, the Chief of the Erie Fire Department refused to take his apparatus there because it was located beyond the City's limits, and that was its finish.

However, not all the manufacturing industries which were started in this decade have gone out of existence. Besides the Erie City Iron Works, there still are in operation:

Erie Forge Company, now the Erie Forge and Steel Company, founded in 1872 with 125 employees by George Starr, J. P. Harrington and A. Brabender.

Erie Malleable Iron Company, founded in 1880 by John Clemens and J. P. Metcalf, with 175 men.

Jarecki Hays & Company, now the Hays Manufacturing Company, founded by Fred Jarecki and James W. Hays in 1865 with 28 employees.

Skinner and Woods Engine Works, now the Skinner Engine Company, started by LeGrand Skinner, Sr. and Thomas C. Wood in 1873 with 50 men.

Adams & Lovell Company, now Lovell Manufacturing Company, started by F. F. Adams and M. N. Lovell in 1869 with 175 men, making clothes wringers and spring beds.

Watson Paper Mills, now a branch of the Ruberoid Company, started in 1878 by Mr. H. F. Watson with 75 employees.

In 1897 two visitors came to Erie who were destined to have a great influence upon the growth and the fortunes of the City. They were Mr. Ernst Richard Behrend and his brother Dr. Otto Frederick Behrend.

Prince Otto Eduard Leopold Von Bismarck became Chancellor of Prussia after the successful Franco-Prussian War in 1870. He owned an immense estate in Pomerania on the River Wipper, near Varzin, which was very heavily forested. He noted with true German thrift that there was great waste of wood when trees were cut down and converted into lumber for building, and he hoped to find some way of utilizing the wood without such unprofitable loss. He went into partnership with Herr Moritz Behrend, a paper maker, in an arrangement under which the Prince sold the wood to his partner, rented the land and the water power of the River Wipper to his partner, and allowed his partner to erect mills for the manufacture of paper; he also received a share of the profits. This may appear to be a one-sided deal, but in practice it worked out for the best advantage of both parties. Mr. Behrend was the inventor of the process of steaming wood and thus converting it into brown natural paper. Twenty years later (1890) the Prince, who was seventy-five years old and had just been dismissed by Emporer Kaiser Wilhelm II from his post as Chancellor of the German Empire, was willing to sell out and retire. Mr. Behrend formed a stock company named Varziner Papierfabrik, Hammermuehle, with himself as President. The Company now operated two paper mills, three ground wood mills and one sulphite mill, all in the Wipper Valley. The largest of these was named Hammermuehle.

Mr. Behrend, having acquired reasonable wealth from the sale of stock in his company, decided that there was more opportunity for expansion in the United States than in Germany and sent his sons to investigate. They travelled over much of the East, and were favorably impressed with Erie because of its location between New York and Chicago, its facilities for rail and water transportation, its nearness to the supply of pulpwood in Canada and its abundant water supply. Also, they liked the friendly people whom they met. They founded the Hammermill Paper Company which now employs 2200 people.

The General Electric Company of Schenectady decided that they should not confine their expanding operations to Schenectady, but

should spread out to other cities. Erie was one of them and in 1911, with Matthew Griswold, Sr. as Plant Manager they erected Building No. 18 for an iron foundry and Building No. 10 for assembling equipment for gasoline-electric locomotives. With the coming of World War I the plant was expanded with the addition of Buildings No. 5 and No. 6, and began the manufacture of ship turbines and artillery shells for the armed forces of the Allies. In 1928 the Electric Refrigerator Division came to Erie and Building No. 18 was enlarged until at one time they were producing 3600 refrigerators each day. At that time the plant was so large with so many different departments that it was employing one-third of the labor force of the community. Several serious strikes occurred at various times and in 1955 the Refrigerator Division moved to a new plant in Louisville, Kentucky. At present the largest department is the Railway Locomotive Division, making the huge electric and diesel-electric engines which are in use all over the world.

The Board of Trade, the predecessor of the present "Greater Erie Chamber of Commerce," was formed in 1874 at the call of Hon. W. L. Scott for the purpose of attracting to the city new industries and for the better regulation of community business affairs. The Erie Chamber of Commerce was organized in 1906. In 1905 was formed the Manufacturers Association of Erie, with 61 member firms, having about 12,000 employees. Of these 61, there are 16 still in business in 1962.

The growth of manufacturing in this city may be judged by the following table:

Year	Population	Manufacturers	Employees
1880	27,737	31	3,302
1905	60,000	61	12,000
1920	93,372	63	15,628
1930	115,967	64	17,811
1940	116,955	58	17,216
1950	130,803	93	31,352
1960	138,440	109	26,130

The total number of manufacturers in Erie County (1959) is 421, of whom one-fourth are in the City.

A serious decrease in the number of employed persons came in 1955 when the General Electric Company moved its largest department, the Refrigerator Division to Louisville, Kentucky.

A change in the type of manufacturing industry may be readily seen in the decrease of iron foundries. After World War I there were

43 cupolas for smelting iron in Erie. In 1962 there are six. However, there now are twenty-one firms engaged in the manufacture of plastics of various kinds,—molded, injected, extruded, polyester glass laminates and all kinds of thermoplastics. The plastic age supplants the iron age.

Erie has one of the finest natural harbors in the world. It is five miles long and one and one-half miles wide, with a sheltered entrance at the east end. The depth will accommodate the largest lake vessels. When our ancestors planned for the future of Erie they expected it to become a busy and important lake port. This hope has not been fulfilled.

The blame for this failure has been charged, rather unjustly, against the Pennsylvania Railroad Company because of the fact that this Company has a monopoly on the waterfront of the city. All the railroad routes to the wharves and piers are owned and operated by that road and they handle connections with other railroads. The P.R.R. has not built in Erie the large cargo-handling machinery needed to load and unload coal and iron ore, which in tonnage are the most important commodities.

The iron ore moves from Lake Superior to the steel mills around Youngstown and Pittsburgh. The cities along the lake in Ohio—Lorain, Fairport, Ashtabula and Conneaut—have excellent unloading facilities and shorten the ship's voyage by one or two hundred miles. The ore which formerly came to Erie and Buffalo was destined for the steel mills at Baltimore and Bethlehem.

But here another economic factor is involved. New iron ore fields have been developed in Labrador which are now supplying the eastern steel mills via salt water to Baltimore and Philadelphia. The last cargo of iron ore to come into the harbor of Erie was in 1959. There have been none in 1960 and 1961.

Coal is still being shipped, but in much smaller quantity. The volume is about one-half of what it was ten years ago. Most of it goes across the lake to Port Dover, Ontario for heating the Ivey Greenhouses and their beds of roses. Likewise the import of pulpwood is now only about one-fifth of what it was in 1950 because the Hammermill Paper Company has transformed its processes to the use of other kinds of wood which can be procured locally, or from sources closer to their mill.

Shipment of grain by the water route has ceased. The huge Grain Elevator at the foot of Holland Street, which holds two and one-

half million bushels, originally was built for handling Canadian wheat, accepting it from the ships and forwarding it to the east by rail. In 1947 the Canadian Government put an embargo on this route and specified that all Canadian wheat must go through Canadian ports, Montreal or Quebec or Churchill. The elevator now can handle only United States wheat, which arrives by rail. There has been only one cargo of grain received here in the last five years.

As a slight offset to these losses of tonnage, the imports of oil, gasoline, limestone, sand and gravel are still heavy and are double the tonnage of those items ten years ago. In 1950, they were 9% of the total tonnage handled; in 1959, 25%; however, the total tonnage of the port has decreased by 45%.

With the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959, ships now load grain at Chicago, Duluth or Fort William and carry it direct to Europe.

The St. Lawrence Seaway has brought hope that Erie may become an international seaport handling much export trade from Pittsburgh and other cities. In the first year, 16 ships of foreign registry (other than Canadian) entered and departed, carrying 6,359 tons. In 1960, 48 ships carrying 39,765 tons. In 1961, 71 ships carrying 17,250 tons.

The importance of city and civic planning cannot be overestimated. In 1913, inspired by Mr. T. O. Andrews, eighty-two of the leading businessmen of Erie subscribed personally to a large fund for the purpose of making long-range plans for the development of the physical appearance of the city and for the proper accommodation of commerce and industry. Mr. John Nolan of Boston and his associates were engaged to study the city and to prepare blueprints for future growth and development. The prepared plans were excellent in every way and, though never carried out, are worth studying. They may still be seen, though dusty, in the files of the Public Library.

In 1958 with the purpose of developing sound and constructive planning for the community, the Citizens' Action Committee was formed. The first Chairman was Mr. John Dwyer who was followed by Dr. Elmer Hess and at his death by Mr. Robert Baldwin. This committee of eighteen businessmen obtained $25,000 from the city, $25,000 from the county, and an additional $35,000 by public subscription from 150 of the larger business firms of the city. With this financial backing they hired the firm of Maurice E. Rotival & Associates of New York City to

make another careful survey of the City of Erie and to prepare plans for its future growth. These are to be submitted to the citizens and government of Erie early in 1962, after the City Government has been changed from the Commission to the "Executive Mayor" type. (See Chapter 22)

The natural growth of a community does not come automatically like the growth of a tree. It requires sound, intelligent planning by the citizens and their leaders. In addition, good judgment and good leadership are needed for the consummation of plans. And there is no advantage in having good plans unless they are carried out . . . .

26

CHURCHES AND SOCIAL AGENCIES

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■ ■ ■ The first Christian religious services in Erie were celebrated by the Jesuit priests who accompanied the earliest discoverers, travelling through the country in an effort to explore it and to convert the Indians at the same time.

Later, when the tide of settlers moved into Erie County the missionaries were not far behind. The first Protestant service was held by Rev. James Satterfield, a Presbyterian missionary from the Synod of Pittsburgh, who in August 1801 called together the few settlers in the eastern part of the county and held services. He preached two long sermons that day, with such effect that the men resolved to form a congregation and erect a church building. This was the Middlebrook Church in Greenfield Township. Rev. Satterfield promised that other missionaries would come before the year's end.

Similar congregations were organized in several parts of the county, served by wandering missionaries whenever they appeared. Meetings were held in private homes or in the inns, or even in someone's barn if it were large enough. A congregation might consist of any number from six to sixty persons.

The great majority of the early settlers came from New England and were Protestants, principally Presbyterians. Their religious needs were served by a devoted group of men (sometimes with their wives) who were called Preachers, Exhorters, Missionaries, Circuit Riders, Cir-

cuit Preachers, or Ministers. The name Pastor or Clergyman was used only after such a man had joined an established church and pastorate and had a settled home.

Reverend Johnston Eaton (Princeton '02) was licensed to preach the gospel by the Presbytery of Ohio in 1805. He travelled throughout Erie County holding church services wherever the settlers would congregate. He was supported by the Missionary Society of Connecticut. His congregations were in Erie, Fairview and North East. He also attended to the religious needs of Springfield, Waterford, Colt's Station, Middlebrook, Crooked Creek, where he regularly preached in Sam Holliday's barn, and Walnut Creek, in Captain Swan's Tavern.

In Erie, the First Presbyterian Church was organized in 1815 and it was sufficiently wealthy to ask for a full one-third of Rev. Eaton's time and to pay one-third of his salary of $360.00 a year. This amount was given to him by his several churches, one-half in cash and one-half in farm produce.

This congregation at first met regularly in the Old Barracks, which had been erected to house the troops here in 1813. They were located on the bank of a small creek near what is now Third and Sassafras Streets. These barracks had been shabbily built and were by no means comfortable or even respectable. In 1816 the congregation moved to the Court House, holding their meetings there until 1819. At that time Mr. Judah Colt, the ruling elder, bought and presented to the Church the "Yellow Meeting House" on Sassafras Street, between Seventh and Sixth Streets. In 1824, at Fifth and Peach Streets the congregation built a huge brick church with a towering steeple topped by a cross. This was the biggest building in the county; the spire was visible for many miles. The Rev. Samuel Tait preached there (see Chapter 11) in 1825 and many times thereafter. It burned down in 1944 and was rebuilt in 1950.

There must also have been some Roman Catholic settlers because there is a record that Father Phelan in 1827 came here from Butler (Pa.) and celebrated mass in the Dickson Tavern. The first known permanent settler of that faith was Wolfgang Erhart, a harnessmaker who came here in 1832 from Baden, Germany. Two years later Bishop Kenrick, a missionary priest from Philadelphia, celebrated mass in Erhart's home—June 1, 1834. Catholic immigrants from the Palatinate and other parts of Germany and the Rhine countries began to come in at this time and the first Roman Catholic Church, St. Mary's was founded

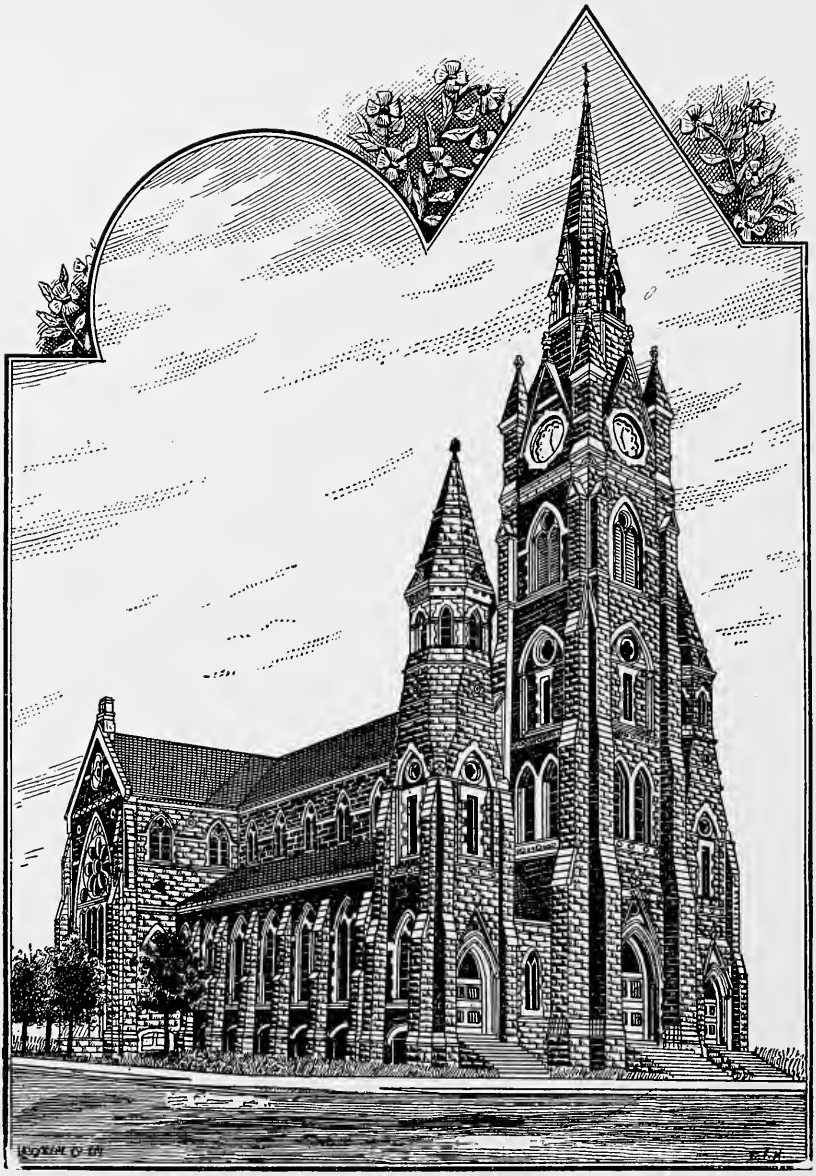
in 1837. This church built two years later a small frame building; Father Ivo Levitz, O.F.M., was installed as the first priest. The services were in German. In 1855 a new church building was erected, featuring twin onion-shaped red towers which were for many years a feature of the architecture of Erie. They were removed and reshaped in 1934.

The great Irish Potato Famine occurred in 1845 and 1846. This calamity forced hundreds of thousands of Irishmen to emigrate to America and many of them reached Erie. With this increase in the Roman Catholic population, new churches were organized and built. St. Patrick's was the second, and St. Joseph's the third.

The building of St. Peter's Cathedral was an inspired act of faith. It required twenty years' time, from 1873 until 1893. Bishop Tobias Mullen started it. He raised the sum of $9,000 and told Thomas Flynn, the building contractor, to work on it as long as the money lasted. Every month he again called Flynn, told him how much money he had raised and instructed him to continue until that amount was spent. The architect was Patrick Charles Kelley. It was a happy day, that first of May in 1881, when Bishop Mullen proudly said the first mass. There was no roof on the building, but it was free from debt. The ultimate cost of the building was $273,567.35.

A little-known and devout congregation is the Greek Old Orthodox Church of the Nativity of the Lord Jesus Christ at 251 East Front Street, overlooking the harbor. There are only four churches of this denomination in the United States,—at Erie; Detroit; Millville, New Jersey; and Marianna, Pa. In Europe the whole body of the Old Orthodoxians is counted as about 20 million souls. This church, sometimes called the "Old Believers," was originally part of the Greek Orthodox Church until 1666, when it became the Old Orthodox Church after it refused to accept the reforms and innovations introduced into the (Russian) Greek Orthodox Church by Patriarch Nicon supported by the Czar Alexy (father of Peter the Great).

This Church continues to observe religious holidays according to the Julian calendar and all except Easter and other wandering holidays are held thirteen days later than in other churches. Christmas, for example, is celebrated on January 7 by the Gregorian (modern) calendar. Regular services are held on all Sundays and holidays and start on the evening of the day preceding the holiday. The congregation does not sit, but stands during the services without shuffling or slouching. There is no organ music in this Church; the Church songs are



ST. PETER'S CATHEDRAL

chanted by the choir in the Old Slavonic language exactly as they were chanted in the 11th or 12th century. The congregation is made up of people of Russian origin, but now only the older generation understands and speaks Russian. All people, when coming to church, wear

special church-garments: the women and girls—long, black gowns, expressing their humility and equalness before God, and scarves to cover the head; the men—black high-collared shirts, without ties. Smoking and shaving of the beard are prohibited, but the latter is tolerated because of social circumstances, as is facial make-up of women, except of course in church.

The Church of the Nativity has about one hundred Icons (holy pictures); among them there are some paintings four and five hundred years old.

In 1962, there are 152 churches of different denominations in Erie, as follows:

Roman Catholic	29
Eastern Orthodox Catholic	5
Greek Old Orthodox	1
Lutheran	21
Presbyterian	18
Baptist	18
Methodist	13
Episcopalian	5
Christian Missionary Alliance	4
Jewish	3
Church of God	3
Miscellaneous	32

SOCIAL AGENCIES

In the brave early days when settlers first came to the pleasant rolling valleys of Erie County, life was relatively simple. Every individual, man or woman, was expected to take care of himself. Every farm was to be self-sustaining, to produce everything needed for food, for clothing and for comfort. Everyone worked hard, very hard. A man had to have strong muscles with which to run the farm, to plow and harvest and butcher and cut logs, strong enough to carry a 150-pound pack all day long through the woods. A woman had to sow and hoe and reap, draw water, milk the cows, sew and cook from sunrise to sunset and after. The nearest neighbor might be miles away.

The State had not yet become a mechanical contrivance dedicated to the furthering of man's material well-being.

A century and a half later, with a quarter of a million people living in Erie County, life had become civilized; with this civilization

came all its weaknesses and complexities. The individual lost his self-sustaining independence. People became inter-dependent. The pressure of population brought many social ills—poor health, bad housing, mental disease, juvenile delinquency, family breakdowns, poverty, crime.

As these problems became too widespread for neighbors and friends to solve, the churches, which have always accepted responsibility for meeting spiritual needs, attempted also to help ameliorate social maladjustments. Their members joined in small groups to sew for the poor, to provide Thanksgiving and Christmas baskets of food for destitute families, to offer recreation for underprivileged young people. In this way privately-financed organizations began to appear, each ministering to some special need or disability, each with its own board of directors—a dedicated and unthanked group—and each soliciting funds from other citizens to augment the contributions of its members.

By 1911 there were a dozen of these agencies in the city, and the annual fund-raising campaigns became so numerous and continuous that more time was being consumed in raising money than in carrying out their functions. At the suggestion of Rabbi Max C. Currick a group of leading citizens was called together by Mr. Jacob Umnitz, Secretary of the Erie Chamber of Commerce, to discuss some form of efficient cooperation. As a result (June 1911) the Erie Social Service Federation was formed with Mr. Currick as President and the following members of the Board of Directors:

Dr. David N. Dennis
J. M. Dickey
W. B. Flickinger
J. W. Force
W. Pitt Gifford
Bishop Rogers Israel
Dr. George B. Kalb
Conrad Klein
E. H. Mack
Arthur W. Mitchell
Miss Sarah Reed
F. H. Schutte
George D. Selden
Mrs. William Spencer
Robert Spittal
Byron A. Walker
Judge Emory A. Walling

The Federation consisted of twelve charitable institutions:

Anti-tuberculosis Society
Associated Charities
Boys Club of Erie
Elmwood Home

Erie Humane Society
Erie Infants Home
Florence Crittenton Home
Hamot Hospital
Home for the Friendless
Old Ladies Home (mercifully re-named Sarah Reed Home)
Visiting Nurse Association
Volunteers of America

Four years later the Federation (May 1915) acquired its first paid secretary, Mr. Guy T. Justis.

The idea of cooperative finances proved to be a good one and gradually other agencies joined the Federation. Seven years later as the trend toward community cooperation in social welfare became national, the Social Service Federation became the Erie Community Chest with thirty-two member agencies. Its purpose remained the same—to help finance adequately its various groups, to prevent overlapping of services and to keep standards high. A "Planning Committee" became part of the program, following the aims of an earlier organization known as the "Monday Club"—it always met on that evening—which had been formed to analyze and discuss the purposes and methods of social work in Erie.

In 1956 the Community Chest was re-named the United Fund of Erie County. In 1962 it included forty-seven privately-financed agencies in the City of Erie which contribute to the community health, welfare and recreational services as well as research into the prevention and correction of social problems. Each agency received all or at least a part of its support from the Fund. The total budget for 1962 was $1,385,902.38.

There are nine agencies for the ill, the blind, the crippled:

Erie Center for the Blind
Erie County Crippled Childrens Society
Erie Guidance Center
Erie Infants Home and Hospital
Hamot Hospital Association
Multiple Sclerosis Society
Muscular Dystrophy Association
St. Vincent Hospital Association
Visiting Nurse Association

There are nine institutions for aid and shelter for the needy, or corrective care for juveniles:

Florence Crittenton Home
Gannondale School
Harbor Creek Training School
Lutheran Home for the Aged
St. Joseph's Home for Children
St. Mary's Geriatric Hospital
St. Mary's Home for the Aged
Sarah Reed Home for the Aged
Sarah Reed Children's Home
Erie Infants Home

There are thirteen organizations giving counseling, rehabilitation and educational services to families and children:

American Red Cross
American Social Health Association
Catholic Charities, Inc.
Erie Association for Deaf Children
Erie Association for Blind Children
Family Service, Legal Aid and Travellers Aid
International Institute
Jewish Welfare Council
Mental Health Association
National Council, Crime and Delinquency
Salvation Army
Urban League
United Seamans Service

There are eight-character-building organizations:

Booker T. Washington Center
Boys Club of Erie
Boy Scouts of America
East Side Boys Club
Erie Council, Girl Scouts
USO (United Service Organization)
Y.M.C.A.
Y.W.C.A.

There are eight groups for community relations, planning, research and administration:

National Recreation Association

National Social Welfare Assembly
Pennsylvania Citizens Association
Pennsylvania Mental Health Association
Pennsylvania United Fund
Pennsylvania Welfare Forum
Social Service Exchange
Welfare Council (Golden Age Clubs)

There are other private agencies which fulfill their functions without participating in the United Fund, being either privately financed or a branch of a large National Social Agency:

ACES (Americans for Competitive Enterprise System)
Erie City Mission
Erie Association for Exceptional Children
Erie Community Relations Commission
NAACP (National Assoc. for Advancement of Colored People)
Volunteers of America
American Cancer Society
Northwestern Heart Association

Each of all these organizations was started by groups of private citizens who saw a desperate need for the specific services. While some of them now receive supplementary financial help from County, State or Federal Funds, they are all primarily private agencies.

The earliest recognition by local government that it should accept officially responsibility for the welfare of its less fortunate citizens appeared in the year 1832. At that time the Main Line of Public Works, the Pennsylvania State Authority, was planning the route of the Erie Extension Canal (see Chapter 15). State Senator John H. Walker, an Erie citizen, introduced a bill before the Legislature which granted two thousand acres of land, state owned, for the construction of a canal basin at the foot of Peach Street. About one-fourth of the land was actually at this location, and the rest was out in the County where it could be sold to raise money for the project. Senator Walker introduced a "rider" upon the bill which specified that one hundred and eighteen acres of this must be used for a "Poorhouse Farm," to be administered by the County Commissioners "for the succor of the indigent." The site selected was three miles west of the city at what is now Twenty-Sixth and Pittsburgh Avenue. On May 7, 1833 the Erie County Poor Board came into existence with three members.

The Board waited six years before presenting to the voters a

proposal that the County build an almshouse. The voters turned it down because they felt that, with plenty of opportunity for any citizen, only the lazy could be poor. The next year (1840) the Board again appealed to the voters and this time the motion was adopted by 1599 votes in favor and 1594 against. The Board built a frame house and barn, then proceeded to establish the Poor Farm, with the idea that it would be self-sustaining and would raise all the food which the inmates would need.

In 1860 there were 107 inmates and the house was so crowded that additional bunks were built in the barn. Ten years later the Board with the consent and advice of the County Commissioners arranged to build a huge edifice with adequate and sanitary facilities which would be a permanent solution for the perennial problem of the indigent. It was constructed of brick in the ornate Victorian style and cost $118,000.

After being used for fifty years even this huge structure was inadequate, especially as at this time most of the inmates were in need of hospital care. In 1923 the Board purchased the Dobler Farm twelve miles west of the city and built hospital facilities, naming it the Erie County Home. In 1946 it was enlarged and named Erie County Infirmary. The voters in 1961 approved a large bond issue for additional buildings which, when finished, will house 450 bedridden patients. It is now called Erie County Hospital.

The old buildings were abandoned by 1927 and were torn down in 1937. The site was purchased in 1955 by the American Sterilizer Company who built a large manufacturing plant there.

The Erie County Poor Board functioned for one hundred and four years. At first its services consisted in running the Poor Farm and providing burial for the impecunious dead; no cash relief of any kind was ever given; later its services included food, fuel and clothing to the needy.

In 1937 the Erie County Institution District was established, replacing the Poor Board. It administers County funds for the operation of the Erie County Hospital and in addition conducts case work and protective services for dependent and neglected children, placing them in foster homes or in an institution. Mr. P. Barton Kauffman was Director until his death in 1959.

The County government administers the Institution District and also the Courts of Law. Erie County was separated from Warren and

Elk Counties in 1874 as a judicial unit and under Judge Vincent had its own Court of Common Pleas. One judge handled all the cases—juvenile, orphan, civil, criminal, non-support and divorce. In 1911 Judge Emory A. Walling was not able to handle everything alone, and a second judge was appointed, Judge Paul Allen Benson. In 1921 a third was added, Judge Henry Clark of the Orphans Court, who was succeeded by Judge J. Orin Waite and at his death by Judge Samuel Roberts (1952). The Court of Common Pleas has three judges, Hon. Elmer Evans (1939), Hon. Samuel Rossiter (1953) and Hon. Burton R. Laub (1956).

Working directly for the Court are the Officers for Parole and for Probation. The first was appointed in 1909, Captain Sullivan. In 1962 it is now necessary to have seven: two for women and girls, four for men and boys, and the Chief Probation Officer.

The motto of the State of Pennsylvania is "Virtue, Liberty and Independence," but that was construed to refer to the State and not necessarily to the individuals in it. In 1913 Governor John Kinley Tener proposed the theory that responsibility for the indigent or unfortunate citizens should be shared between the counties and the State. The Mothers' Assistance Act—such a sentimental name guaranteed that the voters would approve—was passed by the Legislature providing financial aid to widows and their minor children, the cost to be shared equally by the counties and the State. From that time on, the growth of State-aided public assistance has increased with the growth of the population, and fifty years later the cost is twenty-six per cent of the total budget of the State.

The need for State help in the local administration of Public Relief became extremely necessary when the Great Depression arrived following the 1929 crash of the stock market. In 1932 the State Emergency Relief Board was created to administer State funds for unemployment relief through the agencies created by the counties. The following year (1933) the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was established and funds were appropriated as grants to the various states, to be administered by the states and through them by the counties. In 1934 the State inaugurated programs of Old Age Assistance and Pensions for the Blind which, by a slight but necessary extension of the imagination, were administered by the Department of Mothers' Assistance.

In 1935 the Federal government embarked upon a program of

nation-wide assistance to the unemployed with many alphabetical agencies—WPA, PWA, CCC, etc. This method of relief was effective though not efficient, but it was continued in various forms until the war days of 1943. In that same year (1935) relief payments for the first time were paid in cash; previously they had been made either as actual baskets of food or as vouchers for groceries. However, the payments under the state Mothers' Assistance Act have always been in cash.

In 1937 came the Federal Social Security Act under which the Federal government provided grants to the states to assist in the care of the needy aged, the blind, and dependent children. Pennsylvania formed the Department of Public Assistance to administer all State and Federal funds which were provided for the administration of the federally aided programs and unemployment relief (General Assistance). The employes of this agency were placed under State Civil Service. All the funds were spent by county boards of public assistance, one in each county. This Act merged all relief agencies, including the Mothers' Assistance Boards and the State Emergency Relief Boards.

In 1959 as a measure of greater efficiency the State Department of Public Assistance and the State Department of Welfare were combined into one State Department of Public Welfare. This is divided into six "Councils" or "Offices"

for the Aging
for the Blind
for Children and Youth
for Mental Health
for General and Special Hospitals
for Public Assistance

Each of these has branch offices in all the larger cities of the State.

This Department is by no means a small share of the cost of running the State. Of the 1962 budget it requires twenty-six per cent of the total. The budget is $1,000,887,457. Of this, the Department of Public Welfare takes $261,627,502, to which will be added Federal grants of $110,832,545 for a total of $372,460,047.

Of this amount the Office of Public Assistance (one of the six) receives $215,164,940 of which half is State and half is Federal funds. The number of people receiving their assistance (Dec. 31, 1961) was 430,211. It is not possible to separate the cost of administration from the actual cash assistance given to the recipients, which may vary from one week's subsistence to a full year's, but by simple division the cost

per participant is exactly $500.01.

In the plans for 1962 the State will form three Youth Forestry Camps for 150 juvenile delinquents, costing $454,304. This amounts to $3,028.70 per delinquent boy, or more than the cost of a good college education.

The cost of helping the helpless is high. The Erie County Tuberculosis Hospital has a budget (1962) of $263,580 of which the patients are expected to contribute $35,000. There are 54 patients—the number varies between 48 and 60—with a staff of 45. The average cost per patient per year is $4,233.

Vocational Rehabilitation, which was started in 1934, has a budget of $10,658,045 of which the State puts up $4,263,218 and the Federal funds are $6,394,827. The cost per participant is $372.60.

There are other State and Federal services which are available to those who need them. The State Employment Service began in 1917, with offices in every county. The Veterans Administration placed an office in Erie in 1946, and built a huge Veterans Hospital in 1951 at a cost per bed exactly fifty per cent greater than the cost of other local hospitals. The Social Security and the Unemployment Compensation programs have large and well-staffed offices in every city and county.

Charity has become big business.

27

HOSPITALS

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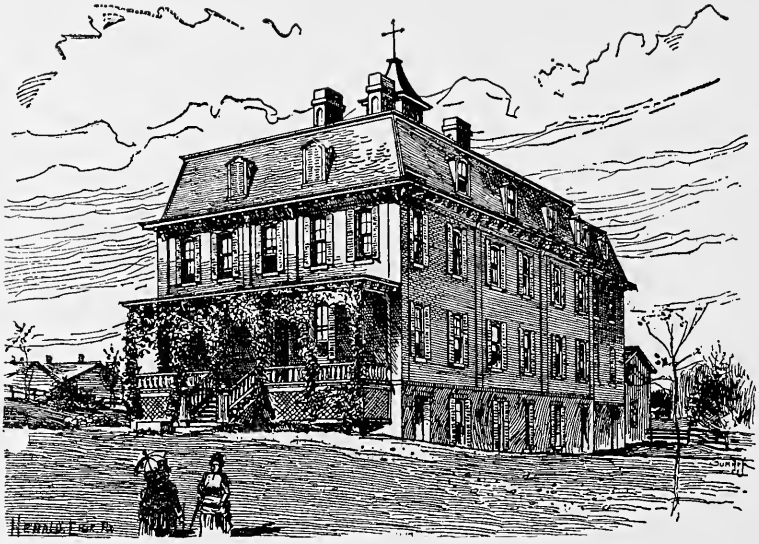
■ ■ ■ In the early days there were no hospitals and few physicians. Dr. John C. Wallace came to Erie from Pittsburgh in 1802 and served the entire county as the sole doctor. As the City grew other doctors arrived and settled here: Dr. Thayer in 1811, Dr. Coltrin in 1815, Dr. William Johns in 1822. Medical practice then consisted of dispensing good advice, laudanum pills and a few other simple remedies. Surgery was only for very serious wounds. There were no anaesthetics —chloroform was first used in 1846—and no hospitals; people were supposed to die at home.

By 1870, when Erie had a population of 19,646, anaesthetics were in common use, surgery was possible and there were about thirty doctors in the city. People began to talk about the need of a hospital.

It was in 1874 that Mother Agnes Spencer, who was the founder of the Sisters of St. Joseph in Erie, organized St. Vincent Hospital. A large two-and-one-half story building, 60 by 90 feet, was erected far up on Federal Hill at Twenty-Fourth and Sassafras Streets. It had a vine-covered porch from which the ambulant patients had a beautiful view overlooking the town and the harbor of Erie. It had twelve beds for the patients, and the only physician was Dr. J. L. Stewart. Seven of the Sisters of St. Joseph took entire care of the patients,—nursing, cooking, bathing and laundry. The Sisters and Dr. Stewart preferred the country air up on the hill as it was much more pure than the supposedly malaria-infested air of the lowlands.

The building cost $7,000. It was paid for and opened in September 1875; during the rest of that year they accepted three patients.



■ ST. VINCENT HOSPITAL

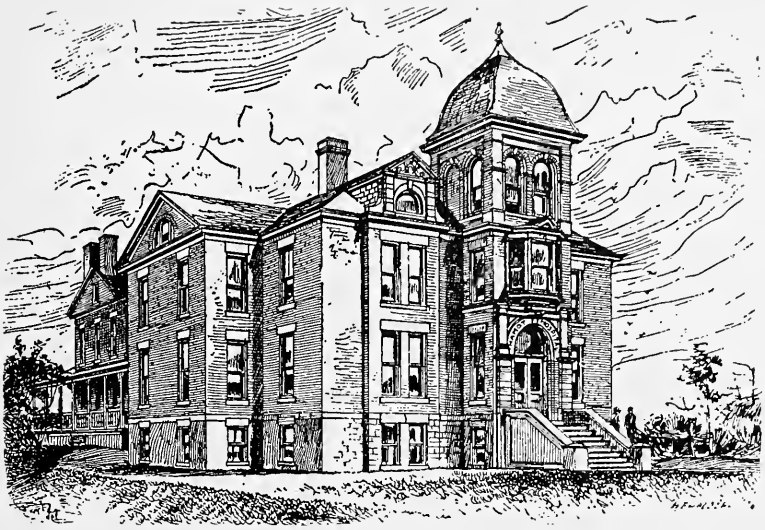
In the following year they took in twenty-eight. In the next five years 405 were accepted, an average of 81 each year. Half of these were on charity, and the other half paid from three to five dollars a week, each.

From that modest and dignified beginning, St. Vincent Hospital has grown with the community. In the first ten years of its life it was the scene of exactly ten operations, an average of one a year. In 1960 there were 5,800 plus 2,812 births, an average of twenty-four a day. In that year 13,390 patients were admitted, treated and discharged. Its present capacity is 494 beds and bassinets and at some time in the future it is planned to increase the present Main Building from four stories to fifteen stories in height.

In 1901 a Training School for Nurses was initiated, which now graduates an average of 56 trained nurses a year. The School is fully accredited and is very popular; in the year 1962, 81 applicants have been accepted for the course.

The Hess Urological Clinic was started by the late Dr. Elmer Hess in 1939. It has achieved international recognition and has given urological training to hundreds of student doctors (interns) from all over the world.

The Hamot Hospital Association was started in 1881 by the Reverend James T. Franklin of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Mr. Pierre Simon Vincent Hamot, for whom it was named, had settled in Erie in 1805 and had become a wealthy and successful merchant. He was the leading



■ HAMOT HOSPITAL

citizen of the city, being cashier and largest stockholder of the Erie Bank and owner of the local newspaper, the Erie "Observer." He built a large and imposing mansion at Second and State Streets on the high bank overlooking the harbor—just west of a similar mansion built by Mayor King. Mr. Hamot died in 1846. In 1881, at the suggestion of Rev. Franklin, Mr. Hamot's heirs made a deed of gift of the mansion to the Association on condition that it be used as a hospital perpetually, and be named Hamot Hospital. The heirs were Charles Hamot Strong, his mother Catherine Hamot Strong, and George W. Starr, widower of Mary Hamot Starr. To prepare the building for its new purpose a new roof was put on, running water was brought in, and two bath rooms were built. Then a laundry and a coal-fired furnace were installed. There was plenty of room and comfort for twenty-five patients.

Hospitals are always short of money, and Hamot was no exception. Shortly after it opened, a campaign was started to raise an endowment fund of $25,000, the income from which would support six beds (one-quarter of the capacity) for charity patients. Mr. George Selden generously gave $4,000 outright, and the sum of $200 each year was pledged by Erie City Iron Works, Erie Car Works, Jarecki Manufacturing Company, Philadelphia & Erie Railroad Company, Anchor Line Transportation Company, and the Ladies Parochial Society of St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

In 1888 the hospital was enlarged by building an annex; it now

contained forty beds, and an elevator was installed which would lift patients up to the second story. A reception room was added, "plain but richly furnished." Also for the first time an operating room was built. All this was paid for by a community drive for funds, as the cost was far more than the operating expense budget could allow. This was the first of many similar campaigns throughout the years, which have transformed Hamot Hospital from a sectarian institution fostered by one church into a real community project and have ensured its growth from twenty-five beds to the present 482 beds.

Until 1890 the patients were cared for by "daily women," who had no especial training and who were told what to do by one graduate trained nurse. With the new annex and the increased capacity (40 beds) it was more than one nurse could handle. Under the leadership of Mrs. Charles H. Strong the Training School for Nurses was begun. This school provides a pool of trained nurses for the whole community. It now (1962) graduates about 35 nurses a year, and is fully accredited by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and by the National League of Nursing.

Zem Zem Hospital differs from other hospitals in that its patients must be between the ages of 15 months and 14 years and suffering from certain specific diseases which can be cured only by a treatment of therapy extending over many months and even years. It is sponsored by the Zem Zem Temple of the Shrine, a Masonic Order.

Zem Zem was started in 1924 by Dr. Arthur G. Davis, who gave the idea to Mr. Arthur W. Milne, Treasurer of the Ball Engine Company (now Bucyrus-Erie) and to his daughter Miss Elizabeth Milne. Dr. Davis during the First World War was attached to the Twenty-eighth Division Medical Corps; during the Battle of Belleau Wood he operated for sixty-three hours continuously on pelvic and spinal cases only. Later in Erie as an orthopedist he worked with children who had been crippled by spinal diseases, and reached the conclusion that pure sunlight, and plenty of it, was curative. He gave the idea to Mr. Milne, who offered the use of a cottage owned by him near Weis Library, in Erie County. A small building was erected as an annex and the total number of beds, and patients, was twelve. It was called "Sunshine Valley Camp."

With the end of the summer, the cottage had to be closed. The treatment had been such a success however that both Dr. Davis and Mr. Milne felt that it ought to be continued during the winter months and should become a full-time hospital with all the necessary tools for

proper treatment and therapy. At a meeting of the Shrine both Dr. Davis and Mr. Milne urged that this work become a project of the Order for the good of the community. The idea was accepted with great enthusiasm.

Mr. Charles Hamot Strong then donated to Hamot Hospital a plot of land on West Eighth Street containing thirteen acres. Hamot Hospital leased this land free for an indefinite term of years to the Zem Zem Temple. In a whirlwind campaign, the Temple raised the sum of $303,050. With this money a forty-bed hospital was built in 1927. The cost of the building was $120,000 and the balance was put into an Endowment Fund.

At first, patients were admitted only if they were of the proper age and had contracted bone tuberculosis, osteomyelitis or poliomyelitis. Since the advance of medical science in the past few years has practically eliminated these three diseases from our population, the hospital now admits patients with arthritis and rheumatic fever. All patients are cripples, and have to be treated for a long time—months and even years.

Other hospitals in the community are:

Doctors Osteopathic Hospital
Erie County Hospital
Erie County Tuberculosis Hospital
Erie Osteopathic Hospital
St. Marys Geriatric Hospital
Veterans Administration Hospital
Pennsylvania Soldiers & Sailors Home

The attitude of the community toward a hospital has certainly changed in the past eighty years, since Erie's first hospital was founded. At that time a hospital was looked upon as a refuge for the sick, the poor, the homeless wayfarer and the indigent infirm, for those who were ill and could find no other place which would take them in—the Good Samaritan idea. Today, 1962, a hospital is the center which accepts the responsibility for the health of the community, the proper care of the sick, the continuing educational and professional training of both physicians and nurses and scientific research into all problems of disease.

The Administrator of St. Vincent Hospital, Sister Anna Marie, sums up the history of the growth of all hospitals in this paragraph: "But the history of a hospital is more than the factual recording in chron-

ological order of buildings, services and additions, of fund drives and building plans. History in all times is the story of people, of events, of the effects of events on people, of the progress of men's minds toward truth and the advancement of science and invention resulting from the genius of men's minds. So, the history of St. Vincent Hospital, as manifested outwardly by the buildings, is really the story of keeping pace with medical research, with education, and with changing concepts of a community toward disease, health and treatment."

28

PEOPLE AND AUTOMOBILES

■ ■ ■ ■ If you stop to think of it, the whole United States is a country of immigrants. Everyone in Erie City and County is either an immigrant or the descendant of immigrants. Most of the settlers who first came here were of English descent from New England. Later, about 1825 came a tide of Pennsylvania Dutch from the southern and eastern counties of the State,—a tide which continued for about ten years.

Immigration into the United States from Europe increased greatly during the Irish Potato Famine (1845-46). The revolutions in Germany and in Hungary (1848) brought many people from those countries. The Austro-Prussian War (1866) was in its turn an incentive to leave Europe. In 1880 political unrest in Scandinavia sent many thousands to this country. After 1880, the principal groups came from central and southern Europe. Many thousands arrived from Italy, Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Serbia and the Balkans. This tide continued in such huge numbers (in 1903 there were 857,046; in 1905 there were 1,026,000) that it became a political issue, that of protection of the American workman in his job. Congress at various times passed acts to regulate and to control it and in 1921 established definite quotas for each nationality. The basis of the quota was to be 3% of the foreign-born persons of that nationality who were living in the United States at the 1910 census. Exception was made of the Chinese, of whom none were allowed to enter; it was not until the year 1943 that this ban was lifted and a quota of 105 was granted entry.

This Act reduced drastically the number of foreigners coming to Erie. In the seven years from 1950 to 1957, a total of 1156 came. In 1957, only 195 arrived. Thus, as the city grew, the percentage of foreign-born became smaller.

The following table shows for different years the composition of Erie's population:

Year	Total Population	White Native-born	White Foreign-born		Negro
1880	27,961	20,031	7,706		222
				27.6%	
1900	52,733	40,776	11,957		244
				22.7%	
1910	66,525	51,234	14,943		340
				22.5%	
1920	93,372	75,226	17,370		749
				18.6%	
1930	115,967	97,445	17,241		1214
				14.9%	
1940	116,955	103,366	13,589		1375
				11.6%	
	130,803	116,342	11,024		3369
				8.4%	
1960	138,440	122,793	8,936		6711
				6.5%	

The increase in the number of negroes in our City is due to general national prosperity. With higher wages the people of that race are able to leave the South and are everywhere infiltrating the North. By the natural instinct of racial solidarity, they tend to congregate in specific sections of the city.

The racial strains of our population—showing the foreign countries where the "White Foreign Born" and their children originated—have shown a change over the years. In 1880 the three major strains were, in this order: German, Irish and Canadian. In 1920 they were German, Polish and Italian. In 1940 and 1950, Polish, Italian and German.

But we are all Americans, and these racial strains are merely ancestral and tend to disappear. According to the 1950 census, 76% of the foreign-born population of Erie had become naturalized citizens,

and for an additional 14% the status was unknown. Only 10% had not acquired American citizenship.

BEFORE 1910

Erie's first Automobilist was Jackson Koehler who in 1898 purchased a Winton, red, one cylinder. Alexander Winton himself drove it all the way from Cleveland in one day (starting at 3:00 A.M.) and then stayed here for a week to teach Mr. Koehler how to drive it. He succeeded in that, but he did not succeed in persuading Mr. Koehler to invest $5000 in the automobile business; it seemed just too foolish for a prudent businessman.

George Black that same year bought a Renault, made in France and assembled here, with its front sloping hood and one lusty cylinder under the back seat. The tools were kept under the hood; lots of them. No windshield, but a canopy (surrey) top with a fringe on it. The next year, 1899 Charles LeJeal purchased a steam-driven Locomobile.

In 1901 Jacob Roth and Louis Roth, being recognized as pioneers of rapid locomotion, started the Erie Auto Coach Company in competition with the trolleys (Erie Electric Motor Company). They purchased a five seater "Chicago Vehicle"; five seats meant 15 passengers. It is hard to say which was noisier, trolley or bus, but Ladies considered it "indelicate" to ride on it because they had to climb up three steps to the seat and in doing so revealed their ankles and petticoats. It was not done by the best society and that venture failed.

Also in 1901, Frank W. Bacon bought a Knox Waterless, side handle-bar drive. George Black gave up the Renault and got a Winton. Ernst Behrend that year had his first steam car, a Stanley Steamer.

In 1902 Dr. Walter Palmer and Bob Saltsman each bought a Knox, as did Otto Behrend. These accomplished drivers learned the trick of cranking the car while still sitting in the driver's seat. (Don't laugh; I've done it).

Louis Farrar brought to the city the first Packard, one cylinder of course, and Newton Hawkins bought from Al Murphy a merry Oldsmobile, tiller steered, as did Charlie Davenport.

Dick Bard (brother of Mrs. Gustave Faure) in that year bought a Waltham "buckboard," a basket of springy ash slats slung across large bicycle wheels and steered with a tiller to the front wheels. It was open to the weather and the dust in every possible direction; in fact, it vibrated so violently that it kicked up dust while standing still.

It is said that the first models had a whip socket on the dashboard.

In 1903 Newton Hawkins tired of his Oldsmobile and got a big Rambler, two cylinders with a carburetor on each. In 1904 Red Orth had an Orient Buckboard. That year Murphy Brothers had the agency for the Franklin, a car with four (4) cylinders placed crosswise and a chain drive at each end of the shaft. Frank Bacon, Mike Harrison, and Jack Curtis were their customers.

Jacob and Louis Roth were manufacturers of the "Pennsylvania Safety" bicycle in their store on State Street. Louis Roth was a demon for speed; he held the United States national speed record for 15 miles, made in 1894, of 33 minutes 48 seconds. That was via bicycle, hard rubber tires. Again scenting progress and seeking speed, he was progressive enough to think the automobile might go even faster. In 1900 Jacob Roth attended a Bicycle Show in New York City and there he was gullible enough to allow a super-salesman to sell him a "horseless carriage which any child could run." So said the advertisements. It was an "Elgin Red Devil," one cylinder, make-and-break spark, no top, no windshield, no reverse and only one forward speed. That started the Roth careers; next spring they bought an Oldsmobile and, after pushing that car for two years, they obtained the agency for Cadillac in 1903. They have had it ever since.

The Cadillac of 1904 was a marvelous automobile; one cylinder 5" bore by 5" stroke; two bucket seats in front; no windshield; right hand drive (horses were always right hand drive, so that the driver could swing the whip with his right arm); price $750 plus extras for two oil lamps, spare tires, canvas "surrey top," and plus $100 for the tonneau which fastened to the front seats by two bolts and seated four more passengers; it opened to the rear and had no door. Maintenance consumed a gallon of gasoline every six miles plus a pint of oil and a pint of brass polish.

Louis Roth delivered one of these to William Buckham of Mercer. They drove down together, leaving Erie at seven A.M. and they reached Greenville in time for lunch and two punctures. As they approached the long hill into Mercer about six o'clock they met a spanking team of grays hitched to a beautiful surrey; the horses, quite properly resenting their noisy, smoking competitor, reared back on their hind legs, kicked themselves free, ditched the surrey and ran through a fence across country, leaving the driver in the mud. This was really serious; the unpopular automobilist, after stabling the car, carefully took the

next train back to Erie, just one hour ahead of the Sheriff.

Horses then were just one of the hazards of the road and the motorist was liable for damages if they bolted. Roads were never wide enough to pass except with great care. The usual procedure on meeting a team was to pull out of the rut to the right just halfway, stop the motor, get out, reassure the horses and lead them around and past. Then crank up and off you go again.

Did you ever have the embarrassment of stalling your motor in front of a trolley, and getting out, and cranking and cranking . . . while the motorman jangled his bell at you? . . . Get a horse, mister!

G. J. Gebhardt and Julius Siegel sold gasoline, carefully straining it through a chamois to remove the water.

Charles Adams in 1904 offered to buy a Cadillac if it would go to Niagara Falls and back; off they went, Louis Roth driving, starting early in the morning and getting there just in time for dinner. The next day they started back and, when near North East, the main crankshaft broke. But Cadillac service was as good then as it is now; they sent word in to Erie by the next team that passed and in a few hours another Cadillac came out and towed them in. And Charlie Adams bought a Cadillac!

The usual test of a good car was to take it up the 24th Street hill. In low gear, of course. It not only proved the car, it proved how good was the salesman. More than once, when halfway up and foreseeing trouble, the good salesman would say "Shucks, this is easy, I could make it backwards," and then would turn around and back it up the hill! There were three subtle reasons for doing this: Reverse gear is a higher ratio than low, the gasoline tank would be higher than the carburetor and the prospect didn't know the difference anyway.

In 1905 William Spencer bought a Cadillac, deluxe, with tonneau and two head lights. As part of the dicker he traded in all his buggies and surreys and the big three-seater wagon; the astute automobile dealer tied them all together with a rope, hitched it to his car and paraded them up State Street in ignominy. O tempera, O mores!

Likewise, Charles Adams traded in his big Tally-Ho Coach, which was sold and used for many years in Pawnee Bill's Circus.

The Wattsburg Fair in 1905 scheduled a big test, the question of steam versus gasoline. A two-mile race was arranged to settle for once and for all this much disputed question. Two miles on a half-mile dirt track, Jacob Roth in a one cylinder Cadillac racing against Louis

Roth in a White Steamer. The Cadillac trundled itself to the starting line, literally roarin' to go, but the White never got even that far; a check valve in the tubular boiler went awry and it stayed put. The Cadillac towed it home!

Another test, upon which the eyes of the world turned, was to determine whether a two-cylinder car was better than a one-cylinder car. In 1906, with much publicity, a challenge race from Erie to North East was staged for a side bet of ten dollars: Jacob Roth in a one-lung Cadillac defeated (by ten minutes) E. R. Dench in a two-cylinder Autocar. Why need more than one?

In 1905 Albert Jarecki purchased a custom-built Owens Magnetic, a gas-electric drive automobile, somewhat similar to the gas-electric locomotives now being built at the General Electric, though smaller. Its one cylinder drove a dynamo which furnished power through a simple rheostat control. It had two control wheels, one to steer and one to turn the rheostat. The driver had to be careful to turn the correct one.

White Steamers in those years were owned by B. J. Walker, Ernst Behrend, Bob Saltsman, "Whiskers" Mizener, Dr. Montgomery, Jackson Koehler, and Port Galbraith.

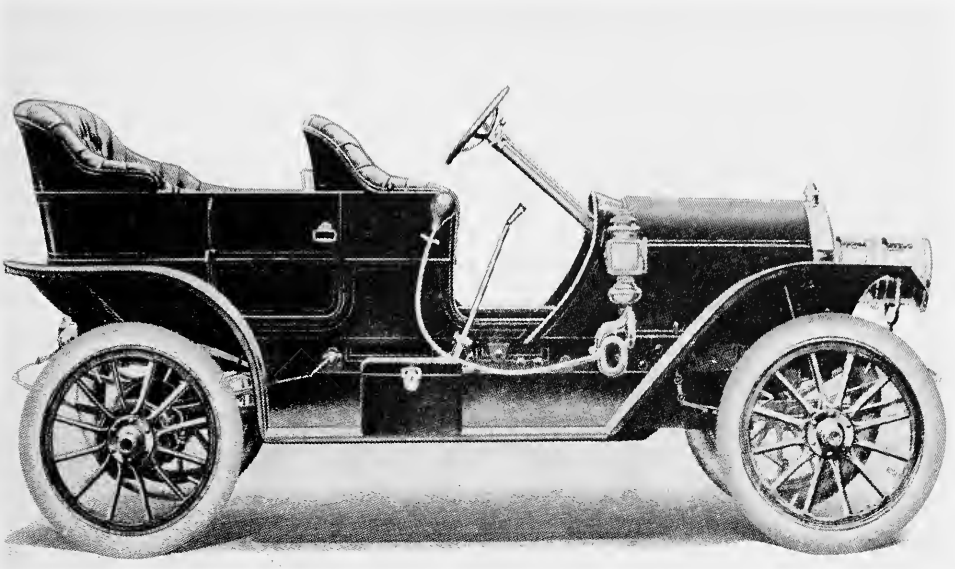
Pope-Toledos were owned by Tom Durban, George Metcalf, Charles Strong, and Ed Germer with Bobby Burns as his chauffeur. A chauffeur in those days was sworn in as a Deputy Sheriff and proudly wore a cop's shiny badge; when not driving he sat in a bucket seat on the running board behind the three spare tires.

Louis Farrar had a Pope-Toledo until, one day, his big Newfoundland dog put his nose into the chain drive. That finished both of them, the car and the dog.

Rausch and Lang Electrics were owned by Frank Wallace and by Jimmie Burke with Fritz Taulson as chauffeur.

Erie's first women drivers, in 1905, were Miss Grace Richardson, Miss Mabel Riblet and Miss Clara Walker. Usually the coachman went along to do the cranking.

Dr. Logan of Girard was brought up with horses. He owned an E.M.F. car, nicknamed Every Morning Fix. One evening he lost control as he swung into his driveway, hit a bump, swerved over and tried to climb a crabapple tree. When the car finally stopped, he slapped his hand against the side of the car and shouted "Whoa, damn ye, I'll teach ye to stop."



■ **1909 OAKLAND TOURING SEDAN**

It was in 1909 that Barney Oldfield brought his Blitzen Benz to Reed's Race Track. That was a thrilling day! He went around the half-mile track so fast that the dust didn't have time to settle. He said afterward that he didn't dare use fourth gear, but kept it in third. He drove down the straightway, put on his brakes, skidded all the way around the turn, then roared past the grandstand with wide open cut-out.

In 1907, J. Spencer Van Cleve chugged up State Street in his "General," a big two cylinder car, and performed the remarkable feat of running over five dogs at once. This record is unbeaten to this day. But the "General" never recovered and was traded in for a "Thomas Round-the-world Flyer."

Jack Curtis, in 1910, astonished everyone by dashing about town in a Zust, an Italian racing car. It came completely equipped, including a raccoon coat and cap, and a plug of tobacco to keep rain off the windshield. The following year he had a big Simplex with four enormous cylinders and a Klaxon horn. It was a good car whenever it ran. One afternoon he had trouble. The motor stalled in front of the Strong mansion at Sixth and Peach Streets and seemed disinclined to start; every time he cranked, it would backfire with a tremendous explosion and a cloud of oil smoke. After half an hour of this, Mrs. Strong

could stand it no longer. She telephoned the police who came, grabbed Jack Curtis by the shoulder and without argument threw him into the city jail as a public nuisance. But after two hours that gay and gallant gentleman, Mr. Strong, came to the rescue and got him out with many apologies: "Awfully sorry, old man, terribly sorry. But you know how women are!"

Dust and dusters, honking horns and nervous shiers, goggles and cranks, spark levers and hand throttles, mud holes and clincher tires . . . and sometimes when driving fast (twenty-five miles an hour) one of the tires would come off and go spinning ahead across the fields for half a mile; once an escaped tire ran into a family picnic which had just spread its tablecloth and food on the ground; the tire knocked over the baskets, wrapped the cloth around itself and rolled on into the woods; the family, sure that the devil himself was after them, took off in the opposite direction.

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■ ■ ■ The story is only partly told,—the tale of the hopes, the expectations fulfilled and unfulfilled of one small city on the northern border of these United States of America. It is the life-story, so far, of a growing and dynamic community.

The cycle of change from the way of life of the rugged pioneer to the interdependent civilization of the welfare state in less than two centuries can be duplicated in the experience of every city. Change is everywhere. The purpose of this book is to record it. Whether for better or for worse will be the verdict of History.

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